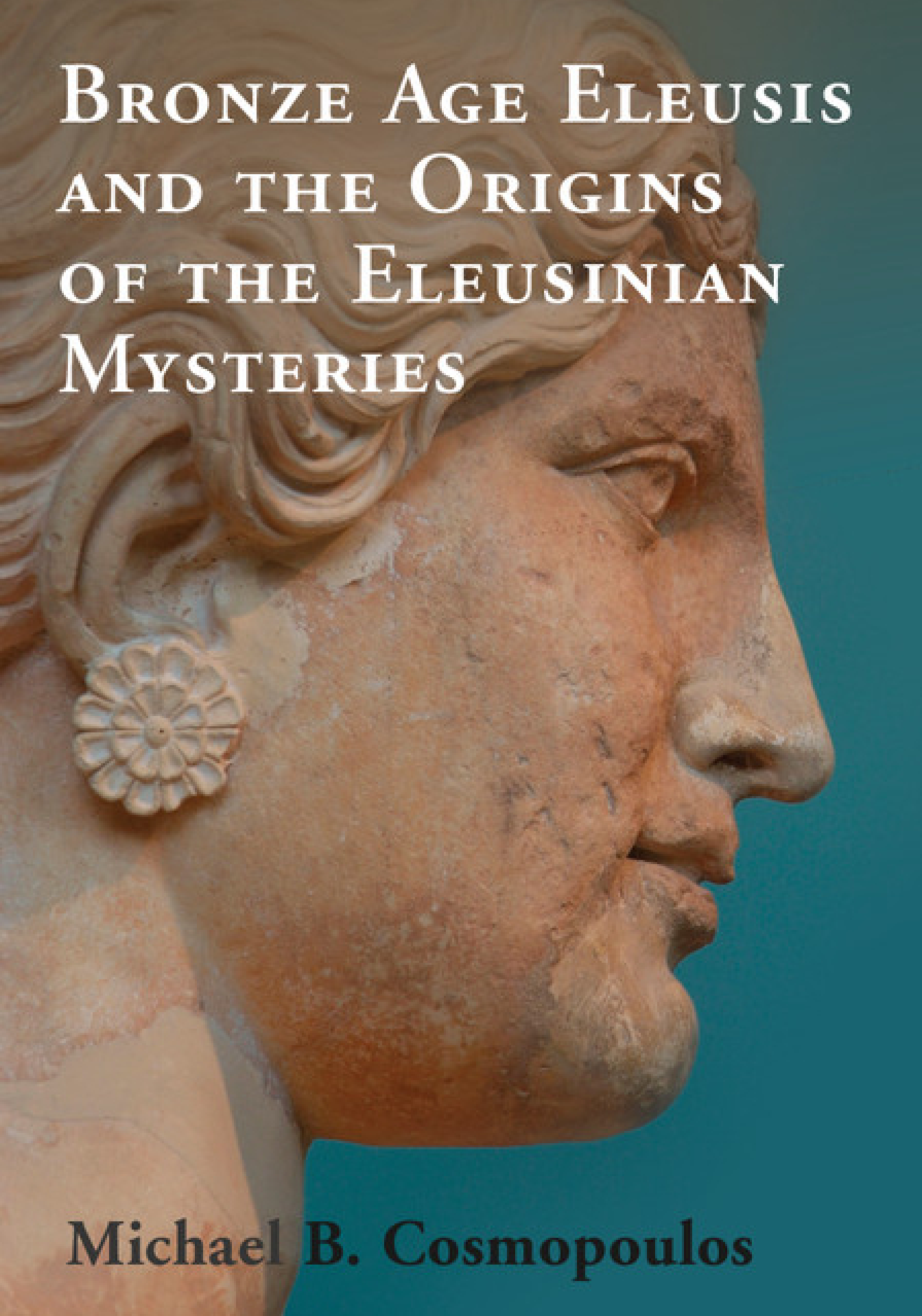


A close-up, profile view of a classical marble bust of a woman, likely from the Hellenistic period. She has thick, wavy hair and is wearing a large, ornate earring shaped like a flower. The marble is a warm, reddish-brown color. The background is a solid teal color.

BRONZE AGE ELEUSIS AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

Michael B. Cosmopoulos

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BRONZE AGE ELEUSIS AND THE ORIGINS OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

For more than one thousand years, people from every corner of the Greco-Roman world sought the hope for a blessed afterlife through initiation into the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis. In antiquity itself and in our memory of antiquity, the Eleusinian Mysteries stand out as the oldest and most venerable mystery cult.

Despite the tremendous popularity of the Eleusinian Mysteries, their origins are unknown. Because they are lost in an era without written records, they can only be reconstructed with the help of archaeology. This book provides a much-needed synthesis of the archaeology of Eleusis during the Bronze Age and reconstructs the formation and early development of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The discussion of the origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries is complemented with discussions of the theology of Demeter and an update on the state of research in the archaeology of Eleusis from the Bronze Age to the end of antiquity.

Michael B. Cosmopoulos is Professor of Archaeology and holder of the endowed Chair in Greek Studies at the University of Missouri–St. Louis. He has published fifteen books and more than one hundred scholarly papers on Greek archaeology, history, and religion. He has excavated at several sites in Greece, including Mycenae, Epidauros, Corinth, Ithaca, Oropos, Pylos, and Eleusis. Currently he is the director of the excavations at Iklaina. He has received numerous research and teaching awards, including the Rh Award for Outstanding Contributions to Social Sciences and the Humanities and the Archaeological Institute of America Award for Excellence in Teaching. He is a National Geographic Society Explorer and a Fellow of the Academy of Science St. Louis.

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For Debbie

ὥς ἔφατ'. οὐδ' ἀπίθησεν ἑυστέφανος Δημήτηρ:
αἶψα δὲ καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀρουράων ἐριβώλων:
πᾶσα δὲ φύλλοισιν τε καὶ ἄνθεσιν εὐρεῖα χθών
ἔβρισ': ἦ δὲ κιοῦσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι
δεῖξεν Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ
Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῷ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν
δρημοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι,
Τριπτολέμῳ τε Πολυξείνῳ, ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ Διοκλεῖ
σεμνά, τά τ' οὕτως ἔστι παρεξίμεν οὔτε πυθέσθαι
οὔτ' ἀχέειν: μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν.
ὄλβιος, ὃς τὰδ' ὀπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων:
ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔποθ' ὁμοίων
αἴσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡρόεντι

So [Rhea] spoke and beautifully crowned Demeter did not disobey;
Quickly she sprouted fruit from the fertile fields,
And filled the whole wide earth with foliage and flowers;
After she went, to the kings who administer justice,
Triptolemos and Diokles, the driver of horses,
and to mighty Eumolpos and Keleos, leader of the people,
she showed the performance of her holy rites and taught to them
all her secret rituals,
to Triptolemos and Polyxeinos and Diokles also –
awful rituals, which are impossible to breach or to learn
or to talk about: for deep awe of the gods checks the voice.
Happy is he among mortal men who has seen these rituals;
but he who has not been initiated and who has no part in them,
will never share such things
after he disappears under the murky darkness

(Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 470–482)

CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	page xi
<i>Preface</i>	xv
<i>Abbreviations (Other than Bibliographic)</i>	xvii
INTRODUCTION	I
PART I MYTH AND CULT	
1 MYTHS AND LEGENDS	7
Foundation Myths	7
The Rape of Persephone and the Homeric Hymn	8
Wars with Athens and the Synoecism	10
The Seven against Thebes	11
2 THE THEOLOGY OF DEMETER AT ELEUSIS	12
Agricultural Fertility Festivals	12
The Eleusinian Mysteries	14
Definitions, 14 • Priests and Officials, 16 • Preliminary	
Initiation, 17 • The Greater Mysteries, 17 • The	
Kykeon, 19 • Telete and Epopteia, 21	
PART II THE SITE AND ITS EXPLORATION	
3 LANDSCAPE AND ENVIRONMENT	27
Topography and Geology	28
Water, Climate, Land Use	30
The Eleusinian Limestone	32
4 THE EXPLORATION OF ELEUSIS	34
Early Travelers	34
Later Travelers and the Dilettanti Expeditions, 1765–1860	35
Systematic Excavations, 1882–1997	37
Publication of Material from Eleusis	39

PART III THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND MONUMENTS OF ELEUSIS

5	EARLY BRONZE AGE	43
6	MIDDLE BRONZE AGE	48
	Stratigraphy and Architecture	48
	Burials	51
	Pottery	58
	Figurines	67
	Metal, Stone, Bone Tools	68
	Economic Organization	69
	Subsistence, 69 • Trade, 69 • Production, 72	
	Social and Political Organization	74
	Religion and Ritual	75
	The Transition to Mycenaean	77
7	EARLY MYCENAEAN	78
	Stratigraphy and Architecture	78
	Burials	93
	Pottery	94
	Painted Plaster	102
	Economic Organization	103
	Social and Political Organization	104
	Religion	105
8	THE PERIOD OF THE PALACES	107
	Stratigraphy and Architecture	107
	Burials	116
	Pottery	117
	Figurines	120
	Spindle Whorls and Loomweights	120
	Metal	122
	Chipped and Stone Tools	122
	Economic Organization	122
	The Inscribed Stirrup Jar	123
	Social and Political Organization	123
	Religion	125
9	THE POST-PALATIAL PERIOD	127
	Stratigraphy and Architecture	127
	Burials	128
	Pottery	128

10	THE POST-BRONZE AGE HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARY	132
	The Protogeometric and Geometric Periods	132
	The Archaic Period	139
	The Classical Period	142
	The Hellenistic Period	147
	The Roman Period	147
	The End of the Sanctuary	151
 PART IV THE ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES		
11	THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGINS OF THE MYSTERIES	155
	Diffusionist Theories	155
	Indigenous Development Theories	157
12	THE ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES	160
	Mycenaean Cult	160
	Protogeometric and Geometric Cults	161
	The Sanctification of Megaron B	162
	The Addition of the Soteriological Element	164
	Conclusion: Stages in the Formation of the Eleusinian Mysteries	165
	<i>Chronological Table</i>	167
	<i>Notes</i>	169
	<i>Bibliography</i>	195
	<i>Index</i>	223

FIGURES

1. Map of Attica showing Eleusis and surrounding topographic features	page 29
2. Streams and torrents of the Thriassion Plain	30
3. General topographic plan of the site and the modern city of Eleusis	31
4. Sir William Gell, Demetrios Philios, Andreas Skias, Konstantinos Kourouniotes, and George Mylonas	37
5. General plan of Skias's trenches	39
6. EH pottery from Eleusis	44
7. The Neolithic and Cycladic figurines	45
8. General map of the area around Eleusis, showing the known EH sites	46
9. MH I–III deposits	49
10. Plans of Houses B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, and P and Building A	50
11. Plans of MH Simple Cist graves	51
12. Grave H.1	52
13. Section (top) and plan (bottom) of Complex Built Cist Grave Λπ4 from the West Cemetery	53
14. The location of Grave E.III.7 in relation to Megaron B (left); plan of Grave E.III.7 based on Philios 1889b, 188 (right)	54
15. Finds from Grave E.III.7	55
16. Grave S.III.17	56
17. Plan of the south slope showing the location of graves between houses	57
18. Selection of Matt-painted sherds and vases	59
19. Matt-painted motifs and their associated shapes (left Gold Mica, right Dark Tempered)	60
20. Selection of Lustrous Decorated sherds	61
21. Selection of Grey Minyan pottery	62
22. Grey Minyan shapes	63
23. Dark Burnished shapes	64
24. Red Slipped and Burnished Shapes	65
25. Shapes of unpainted vases	65
26. Selection of “Adriatic” (left) and Cycladic (right) incised vases	66
27. MH bird-shaped and bull-shaped vases	67
28. Aeginetan imports	71

29. Potter's marks on Aeginetan pottery	72
30. Potter's marks on Grey Minyan sherds	73
31. MH III-LH I (top) and LH II-III A ₁ (bottom) deposits	79
32. Early Mycenaean houses	80
33. Composite plan of the area of the Peisistrateian Telesterion with the Mycenaean walls	81
34. The east anta of Wall 6 and the thickened part of Wall 5 from the southeast	82
35. Three-dimensional reconstruction of the anta of Wall 6, the steps, drain D ₁ , and the platform from the south	83
36. Anta of Wall 7 and anta of Wall 9a from the east	84
37. Plan of the east part of Wall 6 with the steps (α-ε), the platform (solid black), Wall 6 (grey), and the exit of Drain D ₁	85
38. The steps in front of Megaron B from the southeast and the southeast part of the platform	86
39. Plan of megaron B showing the preserved parts of the floor	87
40. Reconstruction of the façade of Megaron B	88
41. The floor of Megaron B with the base of its column (A) from the east	89
42. Fragments of painted plaster found on July 20, 1932, next to Wall 6	91
43. Section of the Megaron B and the walls to the south of the Peisistrateian Telesterion	91
44. Classification of Late Helladic I pottery	95
45. LH I Mycenaean-style shapes and motifs	96
46. Selection of Early Mycenaean pottery	97
47. LH IIA shape/motif combinations	99
48. Combination of LH IIB shapes and motifs	100
49. Combination of LH IIIA ₁ shapes and motifs	101
50. Location of LH IIIA ₁ /IIIA ₂ , LH IIIB, LH IIIC, and SubMyc deposits	108
51. Schematic section of the join between walls 9a, 10a, and 7	109
52. Reconstruction of Megaron B, the peribolos, and the Extension B ₁ /B ₂ /B ₃	109
53. Plan of LH IIIA ₂ /IIIB remains under the Telesterion; the peribolos and units C and D are shown reconstructed	110
54. The interior corner of walls 9b and 11a from the east	111
55. Walls 9b, 11a, and 15 from the southeast	112
56. The entrance of Room B ₁ seen from the interior of the room (north), including walls 9a and 9b, stones from the foundation of the platform (γ), the base of the Peisistrateian column δ ₅ (δ), and the Kimonian column κ ₆ (ε)	112
57. Doorway to Room B ₃ from Room B ₁ seen from the east, showing the threshold (α), the foundation of Wall 11 (β), and the underlying MH floor (γ)	113
58. Plan of LH walls on the summit	115

59. Plan of LH remains in front of the Stoa of Philo	116
60. Combination of LH IIIA2 shapes and motifs	117
61. Combinations of LH IIIB1 shapes and motifs	118
62. Combinations of LH IIIB2 shapes and motifs	119
63. LH figurines	121
64. Metal, stone, and clay tools	121
65. The Inscribed Stirrup Jar	124
66. Drawing of EL Z 1	125
67. LH IIIC and SubMyc pottery	129
68. LH IIIC shape/motif combinations	129
69. SubMyc shape/motif combination	131
70. Distribution of EIA deposits	133
71. Curved Geometric wall E3 on top of the Mycenaean Wall 5	134
72. The Geometric walls in the area of the Telesterion	135
73. Reconstruction of the small terrace by Travlos	135
74. Walls E1 and E2 from the west (left) and the south (right)	136
75. Plan of the Sacred House	137
76. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Archaic period	140
77. The Early Archaic (left) and Peisistrateian (right) Telesteria	141
78. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Classical period	143
79. The Kimonian (left) and Perikleian (right) Telesteria	145
80. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Hellenistic and Roman periods	149

PREFACE

Exactly twenty-five years have passed since the day I set foot in the storeroom of the Eleusis museum and started this project. During these two and a half decades a lot has changed, both in my personal and in my professional life. Projects have begun and finished, new friends have been gained and old friends have been lost, family members have died and new ones have been born. Through all these ups and downs, one of the constants in my life has remained Eleusis.

My fascination with this site comes from its last excavator and my own mentor, George Mylonas. Soon after his death, the Athens Archaeological Society asked me to undertake the study and publication of the Bronze Age finds from the old excavations at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. That project led to a two-volume publication of the architecture, stratigraphy, and finds from the site, which was recently published by the Athens Archaeological Society. In the course of that work I became increasingly aware of the need for a synthesis of the history of Eleusis in the Bronze Age, above and beyond what the technical publication of the material record would allow. The purpose of the present book is twofold: to provide that synthesis and also to address the wider issue of the origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries, a problem that is tied to the Bronze Age origins of the site. The core of the book is a synthesis of the social, economic, and cultural history of Eleusis during the Bronze Age, especially the second millennium BC. Given, however, that more than seventy years have passed since the publication of Mylonas's *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (1961), I considered this an opportunity to place the Bronze Age within the wider historical framework of the archaeology of Eleusis by providing updates on the most important archaeological developments since Mylonas's book. In this respect, it is hoped that this book can prove useful also to scholars working on the later periods of the site.

It is a pleasure for me to acknowledge the support provided by the 'Εν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἑταιρεία, the institution that launched, more than a century ago, the first systematic excavation at Eleusis. To the Board of the Society, especially the Secretary General Dr. Vassileios Petrakos, I am grateful for the many years of moral and financial support that allowed me to complete the project successfully. My work in the museum and at the site was made

possible thanks to the kindness and patience of the Epimelitria of Eleusis, Mrs. Kalliope Papangeli, whose own spade has patiently and meticulously unearthed a tremendous wealth of new information about ancient Eleusis. To Professor George S. Korres I am grateful for encouraging me to undertake work at this important site.

The Eleusis project has been made possible thanks to funding provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities (grant FB-54201-09), the Hellenic Government–Karakas Foundation Professorship in Greek Studies of the University of Missouri–St. Louis, the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, the University of Manitoba Department of Classics, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Institute for Aegean Prehistory, the Shelby White–Leon Levy Program for Archaeological Publications, the Mellon Foundation, the Michael Ventris Memorial Award, and the Mediterranean Trust. A special note of thanks is due to my colleagues, Rory Egan at the University of Manitoba, and Joel Glassman and Susan Brownell at the University of Missouri–St. Louis, who facilitated my long stays in Greece so that I could work in the Eleusis museum.

A tremendous debt is owed to the following friends and colleagues, who took time out of their own busy schedules to read and comment on parts of the book or to provide feedback, information, and counsel: Carla Antonaccio, Jan Bremmer, Susan Brownell, Kevin Clinton, Jennifer Glaubius, Joann Gulizio, Pigi Kalogerakou, Iro Mathioudaki, Nikolaos Papadimitriou, John Papadopoulos, Robert Parker, Vassilis Petrakis, Rebecca Worsham, and James Wright. Needless to say, I remain solely responsible for any errors or omissions the reader may find in the book. I should also be held responsible for the translations of the ancient Greek passages, in which I sought to render the meaning of the original text rather than a word-for-word translation. The map of Attica in [Figure 1](#) was generously prepared by Dr. Sylvian Fachard, whereas the drawings of the potter's marks in Figure 29 and 30 are reproduced respectively with the kind permissions of Dr. Michael Lindblom and Prof. J. Crowel. At Cambridge University Press, I am indebted to Asya Graf and Isabella Vitti for their enthusiastic support of this book. For their effective production work and careful copyediting I am thankful, respectively, to Minaketan Dash of Aptara and Fred Goykhman of PETT Fox Inc.

My deepest gratitude goes to my family. For a quarter of a century my late father Vassilis and my mother Effie have provided endless support and practical help with many aspects of this project; it is a pity that my father did not live long enough to see this project completed. My children, Vassilis, Marilena, and Petros Alexandros, have been forgiving during the long hours that I disappeared behind the computer screen. Last but not least, Deborah, my supportive and motivating partner in life and in archaeology, has shared and sustained my love of Eleusis with humor, encouragement, and patience. The book is lovingly dedicated to her.

ABBREVIATIONS (OTHER THAN BIBLIOGRAPHIC)

CM:	centimeter
EG:	Early Geometric
EH:	Early Helladic
EIA:	Early Iron Age
FM:	Furumark motif
FS:	Furumark shape
LG:	Late Geometric
LH:	Late Helladic
M:	meter
MG:	Middle Geometric
MH:	Middle Helladic
PG:	Protogeometric
SubMyc:	Submycenaean

INTRODUCTION

Ancient Greek religion had a strong public character and served, in many ways, as a mechanism for integrating the individual into the sociopolitical network of the *polis*. Alongside this mainstream religion existed also other cults, which were voluntarily selected by the individual and which aimed at providing hope for a better lot in the afterlife.¹ Because they related to the individual's inner self, privacy was important and secured through initiation rituals, secret ceremonies that bestowed on the participants a new status in relation to the gods. The Greeks called those cults *Mysteria*.²

Mysteria (or simply Mysteries, as they are commonly referred to in English) are a religious phenomenon that for centuries dominated the ancient Mediterranean. The oldest, most venerable, and best-known Mystery cult was that of Demeter and Kore at the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses at Eleusis. For more than a thousand years people from every corner of the Greco-Roman world and from a wide range of ethnic origins and social standings sought spiritual comfort and the hope for a blessed afterlife through initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries. In antiquity itself, and in our memory of antiquity, the Eleusinian Mysteries stand out as the archetype of ancient Mystery cults.

Despite the tremendous popularity of the Eleusinian Mysteries, we know very little about their true essence and content. The violation of the oath of silence taken by the initiates was punishable by the Athenian state with death, and there are known cases of offenders who were either executed or came close

to be executed for disclosing what was meant to remain secret. The Eleusinian Mysteries were guarded feverishly by ancient writers until the emergence of Christianity, when some secret elements were disclosed. Even then, however, the information recorded was biased, as Christian writers aimed at discrediting their pagan competitor rather than revealing the facts.

Given this silence or bias of the sources, the wall of secrecy that covers the Eleusinian Mysteries can be penetrated only with the help of archaeology. It is the physical remains of the cult, those that have been excavated and those that still await excavation, that preserve whatever hope we have for illuminating this important part of our cultural history. The first systematic excavations at the Sanctuary at Eleusis were conducted by the Athens Archaeological Society in the late nineteenth century and continued on and off until the end of the twentieth. The early excavators unearthed most of the buildings of the Sanctuary and made possible the general reconstruction of the ancient rituals. Modern scholars of Eleusis and its Mysteries owe a tremendous debt to Demetrios Philios, Andreas Skias, Konstantinos Kourouniotes, Ioannis Travlos, and George Mylonas, those pioneers who, with selfless dedication and endless passion, meticulously uncovered the ruins of this revered place.

The classic book on Eleusis, Mylonas's 1961 *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, still remains the standard work on the site and the cult, unsurpassed in Mylonas's ability to synthesize vast amounts of archaeological and textual data and to present them in a coherent and meaningful way. In the more than seventy years that have passed since the publication of Mylonas's book, research at Eleusis has progressed and a great deal of new information has come to light, largely thanks to Kevin Clinton's patient and exhaustive study of the vast inscriptional evidence and Kalliope Papangeli's methodical excavations in the modern city of Eleusis. Despite these studies and excavations, one important aspect of the Eleusinian Mysteries that has not been settled is their formation and early development. Given the tremendous popularity of this cult in the ancient world and its influence on our own cultural history, this is an important issue. As Robert Parker eloquently put it, "The mystery of all the mysteries is the origin of the form itself."³

What we do know is that the Mysteries had been established by the sixth century BC and that they were celebrated annually and almost without interruption until the end of antiquity. Theories about their origins range widely, but there are two main schools of thought. The first is based on cultural diffusion and considers the Eleusinian Mysteries imports from other parts of the Mediterranean, most notably Egypt or Crete. The second, deriving from anthropological theories about prehistoric fertility rituals and rites of passage, considers the Eleusinian Mysteries a product of indigenous development. It is exactly this problem – the origins and early development of this cult – that is the subject of the present work.

My main objective is to explore the site and its ruins in order to understand the processes by which the Eleusinian Mysteries were formed. Because our focus is the early history of the site, emphasis is placed on the Bronze Age, the archaeological evidence for which is presented in detail. The Bronze Age is complemented with a discussion of the archaeology of the site from the Early Iron Age to the end of antiquity. This discussion is not exhaustive, but I have made an effort to provide recent updates on the major archaeological issues of these periods. The archaeology of the site is placed against the wider background of Eleusis' myth and cult, landscape and environment, and research and exploration. The theories about the origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries are discussed in the [final chapter](#) and a hypothesis is put forward that explains, reasonably I believe, the processes by which the Mysteries were formed.

PART I

MYTH AND CULT

CHAPTER ONE

MYTHS AND LEGENDS

FOUNDATION MYTHS

The origins of Eleusis are lost in the mythical past of Greece. The Orphic version of the Homeric Hymn, which probably represents local Eleusinian foundation myths, mentions that the first inhabitants of Eleusis were autochthonous: Baubo, Dysaules, and three herdsmen, Triptolemos (cowherd), Eumolpos (shepherd), and Eubouleus (swineherd).¹ Eumolpos became the founder of the sacred *genos* of the Eumolpids and the first *hierophant*.² The other sacred *genos*, the Kerykes, derived their ancestry from Eumolpos's son, Keryx.³ These two *gene* were in charge of the cult until the end of the life of the Sanctuary and, on the basis of a late second- or early third-century CE dedicatory inscription from the Athenian Agora, it appears that, at least in the Roman period, their members intermarried.⁴

Other legends connect Eleusis with Boeotia. Pausanias mentions that Eleusis was founded by the Boeotian hero Ogygos, the first king of Thebes.⁵ The site was named after the hero Eleusis or Eleusinus, who was the son of Ogygos with Daeira, one of the daughters of the Ocean and a rather obscure divinity connected to agricultural fertility and associated with Persephone or with Hecate. At Eleusis she had a separate priest, the *daeirites*, and was worshipped in several Attic demes during the *Proerosia* festival.⁶ Eleusis/Eleusinus was also the father of Triptolemos who, according to some sources, was killed by Demeter when he caught her exposing Triptolemos to the fire.⁷ Hesychius

writes that the ancestral name of the site was Saessaria, after Saessara, one of the daughters of Keleos.⁸ Of Boeotian inspiration is also another tradition, according to which the city of Eleusis was originally located near Lake Kopais or by the river Triton.⁹ These Boeotian connections may reflect Theban efforts for a reappropriation of the Eleusinian Mysteries, perhaps transferring to the sphere of cult the early fifth-century political antagonism between Thebes and Athens.¹⁰

THE RAPE OF PERSEPHONE AND THE HOMERIC HYMN

The core myth associated with Eleusis – the dramatic tale of the abduction of the beautiful daughter of Demeter by the brutal god of the Underworld – is one of the most popular stories in western literature.¹¹ Persephone was playing in the fields when she reached to pick up a flower (narcissus in the Orphic version, violet in the Sicilian version). Suddenly, the earth split open and Hades appeared in his chariot and horses to carry her to his dark realm. Demeter searched for her daughter all over the earth and finally arrived to Eleusis where, disguised as an old woman, she sat by one of the wells of the city.¹² There she was met by the daughters of Keleos, the king of Eleusis, who brought her to the palace to meet queen Metaneira.¹³ Demeter became the nurse of the young prince Demophon, whom she attempted to make immortal by holding him over the fire. Surprised by Metaneira, she revealed her true identity and ordered the people of Eleusis to build her a temple. For a year she closed herself up in that temple and caused famine all over the earth. Zeus was forced to compromise, and Persephone reunited with her mother at Eleusis, but not before she had tasted the food of the Underworld. For eternity she was to spend part of the year with her mother and part of the year with her husband.

The myth appears to have been created sometime in the early Early Iron Age. It could be as early as the ninth century, as by the eighth century Persephone has already been established as the undisputed queen of the Underworld, and Hesiod's reference to her abduction suggests the existence of earlier hexameter poems.¹⁴ Possible additional support for a ninth-century date comes from a *Hymn to Demeter* composed by the pre-Homeric poet Pamphos, which suggests that by the eighth century the story had already become traditional.¹⁵ As for the place of origin of the myth, some scholars have suggested that there is not one place of origin, but rather that the story was independently conceived in the different locations where Persephone was worshipped. The main argument for this is that the Eleusinian connection in the Homeric Hymn was considered “forced,” in the sense that Demeter had no reason to end up at Eleusis.¹⁶ To my mind, this is exactly the reason for which the story was of Eleusinian origin: the only reasonable explanation for the central place that Eleusis holds in the story is that it was the place where the story was created, and therefore,

it had to play a central role to the plot. An Attic, if not Eleusinian, origin is also suggested by the Attic-Ionic dialectic idiosyncrasies found in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and by the fact that Pamphos was an Athenian poet. Because of these reasons, it is likely that the core plot of the myth was created at Eleusis and that local variations developed subsequently.¹⁷

The story survives in several versions, which, although agreeing with each other in the general plot, differ in details. Local adaptations of the myth are known from various parts of Greece, including Sicily, Argos, Sicyon, Pheneos, Kos, and Paros,¹⁸ but the most widespread versions are two. The first is the Orphic version, which seems to have been based on one or more poems attributed to Orpheus. None of these poems survive; there are only references to them in the Orphic papyrus (fr. 49), the Orphic *Argonautica*, and passim references by ancient authors. Other poems in the Orphic tradition were said to have been composed by Musaeus and published by Musaeus's son Eumolpos after the establishment of the Mysteries, although the uncertainty about the number of poems composed and the fragmentary nature of the surviving passages make it impossible to establish whether or not there was one unified "Orphic" version.¹⁹ What we do know is that in the Orphic hymn Demeter herself descends to Hades, accompanied by Euboulos (or Eubouleus), who carries torches.²⁰

The best-known version of the myth is found in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, one of thirty-three religious songs known as "Homeric Hymns."²¹ These hymns, especially the four longer ones to Demeter, Hermes, Apollo, and Aphrodite, narrate episodes central to the lives of these gods. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* appears to have been composed sometime in the late seventh or early sixth century BC in dactylic hexameter, employing epic formulae.²² It was perhaps intended for recitation at public festivals, perhaps the *Eleusinia* or the *Balletys*.²³ The poem carries multiple meanings and can be read at many levels.

As a manifestation of the cosmology of the Greeks, it sets the boundaries between gods and mortals and establishes the balance of power among the gods themselves. Within this framework, it reflects Zeus's shifting position in relation to the other gods in the early stages of his reign, as he consolidates his power through deals and compromises with other major gods.²⁴ One such compromise is the offer of his own daughter, Persephone, to Hades, as compensation for the gloomy lot that Hades drew.²⁵ Faced with Demeter's fury and unable to make her submit to his will, Zeus is forced to draw a new compromise, this time with Demeter, yielding to the formidable power of female fertility and the power of the goddess.²⁶

From the psychoanalytical point of view, the poem brings to the forefront not only the experiences of loss, violence, death, and personal trauma but also the ways humans deal with such experiences. Demeter denounces her life as a goddess to become a sorrowful old woman who has lost all hope and

joy; she substitutes her lost child for another (Demophon) and eventually is overpowered by intense rage.²⁷

As a tale of women, the focal point of the myth is the identity and journey of a woman through life.²⁸ Much like the mortal women of ancient Greece who lived in a strict patriarchal society, Persephone becomes a pawn in the chess game between powerful men: her father betroths her to an older man, whom she has never met and who removes her violently and abruptly from the warmth and love of her mother. As Persephone unwillingly descends into her new husband's household, her old self dies – marriage for her is death.²⁹ The transition from girl to woman and the violent assumption of a new identity reflect the archetype of mother-daughter relationship³⁰ in the face of the adversities of a male-dominated society.³¹ Despite the fact that the rape of Persephone is a result of the actions of two male gods, in reality it is Demeter and the women of Eleusis who have a voice in the myth and it is Demeter who brings, through her actions and against the male gods' will, the resolution to the drama by securing her daughter's release.³²

Finally, as discussed in the [next chapter](#), the myth provides an aetiology for the core elements of the theology and the festivals of Demeter at Eleusis.³³

WARS WITH ATHENS AND THE SYNOECISM

Another set of myths relates to the wars between Athens and Eleusis. Tradition holds that at some point in its history Eleusis was forcefully annexed by Athens, but in the sources there is disagreement about the date of this annexation. Thucydides, Pausanias, and Apollodoros write that a war between the two cities broke out when Athens was ruled by Erechtheus and Eleusis by a king named Eumolpos.³⁴ Erechtheus and either king Eumolpos or his son Immarados were killed, but Athens emerged victorious thanks to the sacrifice of Erechtheus's youngest daughter and, as a result of the war, Eleusis was brought under Athenian rule.³⁵ Eumolpos was joined by the seer Skiros, a son or grandson of Poseidon, who was killed fighting the Athenians and buried at the place of his death, named Skiron after him. His grave was located next to the temple of Demeter (where the goddess had planted the first fig tree) and where the procession of Athens ended during the festival of Skira.³⁶

Another chronology for the war is mentioned by Pausanias and Strabo, who date it to the time of Ion: Eleusis attacked Athens, but the Athenians defeated them thanks to Ion's superior strategy.³⁷ A third possible date is offered by Plutarch, who records a war at the time of Theseus, when the great Athenian hero removed Eleusis from the rule of Megara and brought it under Athens.³⁸

Whether and to what degree these legends reflect historical events is unclear. The general confusion about the genealogy of the ancient Athenian kings notwithstanding,³⁹ Mylonas thought that the legend about the war between

Erechtheus and Eumolpos preserved the memory of an invasion of Athens by an Eleusinian army during the Mycenaean period.⁴⁰ The information about the war involving Ion is confusing and this war may very well have been a figment of Athenian literary tradition. As far as the war during the time of Theseus is concerned, the legend may resonate the process of *synoecism*, the incorporation of Attica into the Athenian territory, for which Athenian propaganda credited Theseus.⁴¹

The chronology of this incorporation is hazy, and it may even be that the myth was introduced at the time of Cleisthenes's reforms.⁴² Interestingly enough, the Megarians had their own version of the early history of Eleusis, as local myths claimed that Diokles ruled over both Eleusis and Megara before the Athenian takeover, after fleeing from Athens to Megara.⁴³ Although the absence of references to Athens in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* has been taken by some as indirect evidence that at the time of the composition of the myth (late seventh/early sixth century) Eleusis had not been incorporated by Athens, this remains an argument *ex silentio* and has limited validity.⁴⁴ For the ancient Athenians it was a given that the synoecism had happened a generation before the Trojan war and in Homer Attica is mentioned as a unified state, which suggests that the synoecism must have been part of Athenian myth already in the eighth century.⁴⁵ Modern scholars disagree about the date of the unification of Attica, which is variably placed anywhere from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age or even as late as the early sixth century.⁴⁶ The fact is that by the time of Peisistratos, Eleusis was an Athenian base in the war against Megara. Since it is in the second half of the sixth century that Theseus is transformed into a major Athenian hero, it is quite possible that the connection to Theseus may have been a Peisistratid invention.⁴⁷

THE SEVEN AGAINST THEBES

A third set of myths that relate to Eleusis is the story of the ill-fated attack of the Seven against Thebes. Although Eleusis is not mentioned before the Christian era, the tradition preserved by Plutarch and Pausanias was that Theseus fought the Thebans to bring the remains of the fallen heroes to Athenian territory, and buried them at Eleusis.⁴⁸ The graves of those heroes were important Eleusinian landmarks and are said by Pausanias to be located by the road from Eleusis to Megara, after the Sanctuary of Metaneira. Mylonas had proposed that the MH graves in sector A of the West Cemetery, which were enclosed by a peribolos during the eighth century, may have been the *heroon* of these heroes,⁴⁹ but Antonaccio has made a strong case against the sanctification of these graves.⁵⁰ The incorporation of this myth into the Eleusinian tradition may reflect a process by which local communities "wrote" themselves into the story by connecting monuments to the world of heroes.⁵¹

CHAPTER TWO

THE THEOLOGY OF DEMETER AT ELEUSIS

Although several gods were worshiped at Eleusis, the one with whom the site is intimately connected is Demeter. We saw in the [previous chapter](#) that the myth that stood at the core of Demeter's cult, the Rape of Persephone, may have originated at Eleusis,¹ and we know from literary and epigraphic sources that Eleusis was home to several Demeter festivals, which together belonged to a wider Eleusinian theology.² This theology was structured around two main elements: prosperity in this life and hope for a better lot in the next.³ The *hieros logos* for the dual nature of this theology is provided by the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which so dramatically highlights Demeter's dominant power over both the world of the living and the world of the dead. The two gifts that the goddess brought to humankind, encapsulated in Isokrates's well-known quote about the "... καρπούς ... καὶ τὴν τελετὴν,"⁴ were commemorated in the festivals that took place at the Sanctuary and the plain around it.

AGRICULTURAL FERTILITY FESTIVALS

Most of the Eleusinian festivals focused on fertility, both agricultural and human, and revolved around the farmers' calendar and the sociopolitical stages of ancient Greek civic life, functioning as markers of important seasonal tasks.⁵ Several of these festivals were celebrated at Eleusis and also in other parts of Greece. Starting with November/December (the month Poseidaon), the *Haloa* was a festival in honor of Demeter and Dionysos, celebrated exclusively

by women.⁶ It was presided by a priestess and included offerings of food and drink, but no blood sacrifices. This festival had a strong fertility character, as replicas of both male and female genitalia made of dough were placed in full view and the priestess whispered sacred words to the ear of the participants. It is generally accepted that this was a festival of considerable antiquity, perhaps deriving from an archaic agrarian cult.⁷ In the early spring was celebrated the *Chloia*, in March/April (the month of Elaphebolion), which honored *Demeter Chloë* (“the Green”), the goddess of growing vegetation.⁸

During the summer was celebrated the *Calamaia*, which appears to have been related to the threshing of the grain.⁹ In August/September (the month Metageitnion) was celebrated the *Eleusinia*, a local Eleusinian festival, which was not only a festival giving thanks to Demeter for her gift of agriculture, but also a harvest festival in which the first fruits from the cereal crops were dedicated.¹⁰ It was held annually, but every second year it included contests and every four years it was celebrated on a grander scale. Besides Demeter and Persephone, a number of other gods were honored: Plouton, Triptolemos, Themis, Zeus Herkeios, Eumolpos, and Keleos. A possible *logos* for the thanksgiving character of the *Eleusinia* may be found in the myths of Triptolemos, a favorite story in Greek art,¹¹ whom sixth-century Athenian propaganda managed to establish as Demeter’s agent in teaching humanity the art of cultivation.¹²

In October/November (the month Pyanopsion), at the time of ploughing and sowing, was celebrated the *Proerosia*, a pre-ploughing festival held in the Thriassion.¹³ Also in the fall were celebrated the two most famous festivals of Demeter, the Thesmophoria, and the Mysteries themselves (see discussion later in the chapter).

The only festival that was held at an unknown to us time was the *Balletys*, a ritual mock battle held in honor of Demophon, which may have derived from an ancient agrarian rite. It is possible that it took place on the stepped platform on the south side of the Telesterion and may have commemorated the continuous battles that Demeter prophesied for the “children of Eleusis” in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.¹⁴

The *Thesmophoria* is, of course, one of the most widespread festivals of ancient Greece, celebrated all over the Greek world.¹⁵ Depending on the location, it lasted for three or four days, during which several rituals were held: a procession to one of the sanctuaries of Demeter, a day of fasting (*nesteia*), and a day of feasting in celebration of the *Kalligeneia*, the “goddess of beautiful birth”; it was on this day that the rotten remains of pigs were brought up from snake-filled pits called *megara*, mixed with seeds, and placed on the altar. The time at which the pigs were thrown into the *megara* is not known: although it is possible that at Eleusis the throwing of the pigs may have happened during the Eleusinian Mysteries and the rotten remains

retrieved during the Thesmophoria, Ruscillo has now proposed an alternative explanation based on zoological evidence, according to which the noise made by the bailers may have caused the snakes to regurgitate the piglets they had devoured; it was those regurgitated putrid remains that were brought up from the *megara*.¹⁶ The *action* for the ritual throwing the pigs in the *megara* may have been the Orphic version of the myth, according to which Eubouleus's pigs were swallowed in the chasm.¹⁷ The Eleusinian *megara* have been convincingly identified by Clinton with the three pits in front of the Telesterion.¹⁸

The Thesmophoria had a strong fertility character, manifested in the dedication of phallic and sexual symbols made of dough and in the exchange of obscenities among the participants (*aischrologia*).¹⁹ It related to the fertility of the crops and the fertility of humans, defining at the same time the status of citizen women.²⁰ Because it was exclusively a women's festival, it had a restrictive character: in fact, the epithet *thesmophoros* was associated also with initiation rites.²¹

This festival may have originated in the Early Iron Age, as suggested by its ancient presence in Ionia as early as the PG period, and its wide diffusion across the Mediterranean.²² Clinton has convincingly shown that its *logos* can be traced back to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* on account of two important elements: the dominating role that women play in the Hymn clearly reflects a women's festival and Demeter's nurturing character in the Hymn corresponds with the nurturing/fertility element of the Thesmophoria.²³ Additional support to this connection between the *Hymn to Demeter* and the Thesmophoria is provided by other shared elements, such as the *aischrologia* of the Thesmophoria (which may reflect Iambe's obscenities in the Hymn)²⁴ and the prominence of wells and springs in both the Hymn and the festival.²⁵

THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

If agriculture were one of the main gifts of Demeter to humankind, it was not the only one. In the Hymn, Demeter is only secondarily the divine nurturer – first and foremost she is the *mater dolorosa*.²⁶ As such, she is connected with death and the afterlife,²⁷ a connection that explains why the resolution of the drama brings about not one, but two gifts: prosperity in this life and hope for the next. This hope is granted to mortals through the second gift that Demeter granted to humankind, her secret rites – the Mysteries.²⁸

Definitions

There are two verbs that are etymologically and semantically connected with the nouns *mysterion* (μυστήριον), *myesis* (μύησις), and *mystes* (μύστης). The first is *myō* (μύω), which means “to close my eyes or mouth”; the second is the

causative *myeo* (μυέω), which means “to make someone close their eyes or mouth.”²⁹ The earliest known word with this root is *mu-jo-me-no*, the present tense middle/passive participle of *myeo*, found on a Linear B tablet from Pylos. This tablet, PY Un 2, mentions the ceremony of initiation of the king, held at the major sanctuary of *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Large quantities of food were prepared for this ceremony, sufficient to feed 1,000 to 2,000 people. It is possible that the purpose of the ceremony was to vest the authority of the king with divine approval, but there is nothing that might connect the term with some kind of Mystery cult during the Mycenaean period.³⁰

The processes by which a group of words relating to closing eyes or mouth came to be connected with religious rituals may be explained by Aristotle’s well-known passage, according to which initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries was an emotional experience instead of a cerebral process of learning – παθεῖν instead of μαθεῖν.³¹ This would suggest that the experience of the initiates was spiritual and did not rely on the world of the senses. Clinton very aptly has highlighted the contrast between the word *mystes* and the word *epoptes*, which describes the status of the individual before and after participation in the rituals.³² A *mystes* is a person with eyes closed and therefore blind to the truth, whereas the *epoptes* sees the truth. The process of transitioning from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge was marked by the ritual of *myesis*, a term that is rendered in Latin as *initio* and in English as *initiation*.³³ It should be mentioned that the meaning of *myesis* did not remain unchanged for the duration of the life of the Eleusinian Mysteries: until the end of the fourth century it referred to the first step toward full initiation, the instruction given to the prospective initiates in advance of the ceremony; after that date the term was applied to the entire process.³⁴ Moreover, over the course of several centuries the cult itself is likely to have undergone changes and modifications, but in the absence of written sources we are unable to follow closely its evolution.³⁵

Another group of words relating to the Mysteries come from the verb *telein* (τελεῖν), “to perform.” The meaning of the verb is general, unless the object of the verb is a person and the verb is accompanied by a god’s name in the dative, in which case the verb acquires the meaning of initiating a person into the Mystery cult of a god.³⁶ In this respect, the literal meaning of the term *Telesterion* would be “The Hall of the Ceremony,” but since in the context of the Mystery cult this ceremony was an initiation, it is often rendered in English as “The Hall of Initiation.”³⁷

Because these initiations related to the individual’s inner self, privacy was important and protected by the oath of silence. It is wrong, however, to define Mystery Cults only in terms of their secrecy: secrecy was a characteristic of several other, non-mysteric cults, but it was the initiation that made a cult what we call today a Mystery Cult.³⁸ This privacy was zealously protected

by Athenian law at penalty of death, a law that the Athenians took extremely seriously. Two youths were executed for breaking into the sanctuary while the secret ceremony was held, while Alkibiades and Andokides came very close to being executed when they were accused of disclosing the content of the Mysteries.³⁹ Respecting the privacy of the Mysteries, pagan authors wrote practically nothing about the essence of the cult, so our main textual sources are the early Christian fathers who, however, usually attempt to defame it. The exhaustive study of the Eleusinian inscriptions by Clinton has shed considerable light to the workings of the cult and, in combination with the bits and pieces of evidence from the written sources, allows us to reconstruct in general lines the organization and components of the cult, at least from the fourth century onward.

Priests and Officials

The logistical organization of the Mysteries was the responsibility of the *Archon Basileus*, assisted by a *paredros* and four *epimeletai*, of whom one belonged to the *genos* of the Eumolpids and another one to the Kerykes, the other two being Athenians. The religious part of the Mysteries was the responsibility of the priests, the most important of whom had to belong to one of the two major *gene*, the Eumolpids and the Kerykes. The highest priest was the *hierophant*, a Eumolpid: he alone was allowed to enter the *Anaktoron*, to show the *hiera* to the initiates, and officiate the initiation.⁴⁰ The *Hierophantides* were two priestesses entrusted with the worship of the two goddesses.⁴¹ The *Priestess of Demeter and Kore* seems to have been an office of considerable antiquity, as she was involved with a number of other Demeter festivals, including the Thesmophoria, the *Haloa*, the *Eleusinia*, and the *Calamaia*; she was second in importance to the *hierophant* and may have played the roles of Demeter and Kore during the enactment of the myth during the *dromena*.⁴² The *Priestesses Panageis* (“all-holy”) were responsible for the transportation of the *hiera* to Athens and back. The *dadouchos*, a male priest from the *genos* of the Kerykes, may have been in charge of the light that was a crucial part of the secret part of the ceremony; the importance of this official is demonstrated by the fact that, together with the *hierophant*, he led the procession from Athens to Eleusis.⁴³ The *keryx* (called *hierokeryx* starting with the Roman period) belonged to the *genos* of the Kerykes; he read the proclamation, enforced silence during the ceremony, and could also have functioned as the *mystagogos*.⁴⁴ The *Priest at the Altar*, also from the *genos* of the Kerykes, may have been in charge of sacrifices.⁴⁵ Uncertain is the function of the “hearth-initiate,” the *παῖς ἄφ’ ἑστίας*; possibly a child belonging to either the Eumolpids or the Kerykes (although there is evidence to suggest that any Athenian child could fulfill this role), this boy or girl represented the city of Athens and may have headed

the procession of the initiates.⁴⁶ Finally, a number of secondary priests and functionaries assisted the main ones in various parts of the ceremonies.⁴⁷

The expansion of the cult during the Roman period brought about also changes in the operation of the Eleusinian priesthood: hieronymy, the practice of replacing the name of priests with their title, is introduced for the hierophant after the middle of the second century BC; by the first century CE it has been applied to the *dadouchos* and by the second century to the hierokeryx and the *Priest at the Altar*.⁴⁸

Preliminary Initiation

The core of the Mysteries was the initiation ceremony. It appears that there were three degrees of initiation, although the ancient Greeks may not have separated the first two degrees.⁴⁹ The first degree included a preliminary initiation and took place either before or during the Lesser Mysteries, held in the spring month of Anthesterion on the east bank of the river Ilissos in Athens.⁵⁰ We know very little about the Lesser Mysteries: their purpose may have been to prepare participants for the Greater Mysteries through a form of preliminary initiation,⁵¹ although it appears that participation in the Lesser Mysteries was not mandatory.⁵² The content of the ceremony involved sacrifices, dancing and singing, fasting, and sprinkling of water for purification, under the direction of the *mystagogos*.⁵³ It is possible that some kind of reenactment of the myth of the abduction of Persephone and her reunion with her mother may have taken place. The *action* of the Lesser Mysteries can be traced back to the myth of Herakles's initiation, instituted by Demeter herself to cleanse him from the murder of the Centaurs.⁵⁴

The Greater Mysteries

The second and third degrees of initiation took place during the Greater Mysteries. These were held once a year in the autumn month of Boedromion. Everyone was allowed to participate and special messengers, the *spondophoroi*, were sent to all Greek states (even to Egypt and Syria in the Hellenistic period) before the celebration, to proclaim a holy truce (which usually lasted for fifty-five days) and ask for first fruits and official delegations.⁵⁵ The celebrations would start on the fifteenth of Boedromion and would last for nine days. Central to the celebrations were the *hierai*, the "sacred objects," which on the day before the start of the festival had been brought in a procession from Eleusis into the Agora of Athens and kept in the Eleusinion, the sanctuary of Demeter in the southern end of the Agora.⁵⁶

Based on information from various sources, it seems that the Mysteries unraveled as follows.

On the first day (“ἄγυρμός”), the fifteenth of Boedromion, the Archon Basileus summoned the people in the *Poikile Stoa*.⁵⁷ There, the formal proclamation of the beginning of the celebration was issued by the *hierokeryx*. Everyone was invited to participate, except for those who could not understand Greek and those who had committed murder, but starting in the fifth century the exclusion was expanded to include those with impure souls and minds.⁵⁸

On the second day (“ἑλασις”), the sixteenth of Boedromion, the *mystai* proceeded to either Piraeus or Phaleron, where they purified themselves by washing a piglet in the waters of the sea.⁵⁹ They probably rode to the sea in carriages, and after their return to the city the piglets were sacrificed.

On the third day, the seventeenth of Boedromion, there may have been sacrifices in the Eleusinion under the supervision of the *Archon-Basileus*, but there is a lot of uncertainty about what transpired.⁶⁰

The fourth and last day of festivities in Athens was called *Epidauria* or *Asklepieia* and, although claimed to be devoted to those who had arrived late,⁶¹ in reality it may have celebrated the introduction of the cult of Asklepios in Athens.⁶² The *action* for the ritual of this day is the story of Asklepios who, delayed at Epidauros, arrived in Athens after the Mysteries had started and took temporary residence at the Eleusinion while his permanent sanctuary, the Asklepieion in the Asty, was being constructed.⁶³ The cult of Asklepios was introduced in Athens after 420 BC and it has been considered by some scholars a result of Athenian efforts to control the strategic location of Epidauros.⁶⁴

On the fifth day, the nineteenth of Boedromion, a grandiose procession (*pompe*, “πομπή”) took the *hiera* from Athens back to Eleusis.⁶⁵ The procession started from the Eleusinion and proceeded through the Panathenaic Way and the Agora to the Dipylon Gates and from there followed the Sacred Way back to Eleusis. The *mystai* and their sponsors were dressed in festive clothes, crowned with myrtle wreaths, and held branches of myrtle tied with strands of wool (the “bacchos”). Whether or not the procession was led by the wooden *xoanon* of Iakhos is uncertain: on the basis of Strabo’s testimony, according to which Iakhos was the “leader of the Mysteries,”⁶⁶ and also of inscriptional evidence, it had been assumed that this *xoanon* was sent off from Athens on the occasion of the great *pompe* on the nineteenth of Boedromion. Plutarch mentions, however, that Iakhos left Athens on the twentieth of Boedromion, which suggests that there may in fact have been a second procession carrying the *xoanon* to Eleusis.⁶⁷ What we know for certain is that at the head of the procession were the priests and the *Priestesses Panageis* carrying the *Hiera* in the *kistai*, perhaps in the way represented by the Caryatids of the Lesser Propylaea. State officials, delegations from other cities, and foreign dignitaries would follow. Next in turn were the *mystai* with their sponsors. At the end of the procession were placed the pack animals with the supplies needed for the long trip. The procession followed the modern highway from Kerameikos to

the Sacred Way, up to the sanctuary of Aphrodite, where it turned toward the hill and the lakes of the Rheitoi, before reaching the sea by the bridge.⁶⁸ From that point the Sacred Way followed the modern highway once more.

During the procession two events took place: the *krokosis* would occur after the *mystai* crossed the bridge and consisted of tying a *krokos*, a ribbon of saffron color, around the right hand and the left leg of each *mystes*. This went on until the sunset, and then the *pompe* continued by torchlight. The meaning of this event is unknown, but perhaps it resembled the modern *xematiasma*, which provides protection from the evil spirits. The second event took place on the bridge of the river Kephissos, where the initiates were harassed and insulted.⁶⁹ The meaning of these *gephyrismoι* is not clear, but it is possible that they were meant to lift the spirits of the initiates through jesting and *aischrologia*, perhaps also commemorating the Iambe episode in the myth.

Once the procession reached the sanctuary of Eleusis, Iakhos was received ceremoniously at the court. For the rest of the night the initiates sang and danced in honor of the Goddess. The dances traditionally took place around the Kallichoron well and were meant to cheer the grieving goddess.⁷⁰ It is possible that the *kernophoria*, in which women danced carrying kernoι on their heads, took place that night. After that, people retired for the night.

On the following day (the twentieth of Boedromion) several sacrifices took place, including the main sacrifice to Demeter under the supervision of the *Archon Basileus*, possibly on the altars of the Two Goddesses outside the Telesterion.⁷¹ During the day the initiates fasted, abstaining from certain types of fish and domestic birds, as well as beans, pomegranates, apples, and eggs.⁷²

The Kykeon

The fast came to an end with the drinking of the *kykeon*, the special potion of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Clement of Alexandria preserves the sacred phrase (“σύνθημα”) given by the initiates, part of which was “I fasted, I drank the *kykeon*.”⁷³ In observance of the myth, the *mystai* drank this potion on this first day of their stay at Eleusis, as Demeter had done. The theory that the drinking of the *kykeon* functioned as a sacrament (in the sense of a mystic union with the goddess) does not seem likely, for the simple reason that the drinking of the *kykeon* was not one of the fundamental components of the Mysteries and did not occupy the central place that a sacrament would hold.⁷⁴

A great deal of controversy surrounds the composition of the Eleusinian *kykeon*. In the ancient Greek and Roman sources the term *kykeon* is used to describe a variety of potions made of grain and liquid (water, wine, oil, or honey), often with the addition of an herb.⁷⁵ The most common use of these potions was as meal substitutes, but specialized uses are also attested: ancient authors from Homer to Pliny record the medicinal properties of the

kykeon, whereas in the *Odyssey* it is used by Circe as an intoxicant.⁷⁶ What determines the use of the potion is the herb that is added to the mixture, but unfortunately in most cases these herbs are not recorded. In the Eleusinian Mysteries we know that the *kykeon* included pennyroyal (*mentha pulegium*), an herb that in small doses can have a mildly calming effect, but in larger doses can be extremely harmful and even lethal.

Some scholars have argued that the Eleusinian *kykeon* may have contained a psychotropic ingredient that caused the *mystai* to experience hallucinations. This is based on references to extraordinary visions that the initiates saw during the secret part of the ceremony (see discussion later in the chapter), visions that have been interpreted as the result of the ingestion of entheogenic substances. The first such suggestion had been made by Nietzsche, but the theory was more systematically developed by Kerényi, who, drawing analogies to mystic experiences in ceremonies of other cultures, proposed that the religious experience of the *mystai* was enhanced by hallucinatory agents. Specifically, he proposed that the barley used in the mixture had been fermented, thus making the drink alcoholic, and also that the doses of pennyroyal added to the mixture were high enough to cause hallucinations.⁷⁷ The idea was picked up by entheogen scholars, who took it one step further and proposed that some form of ergot (either *Claviceps purpurea*, which can be found growing on wheat and barley, or *Paspalum distichum*, a grass found in various parts of the Mediterranean) was mixed with water and offered by the hierophants to the initiates, in order to create an entheogenic experience. The theory that the initiates may have been administered entheogens with “great visionary power” is based on ancient references to “extraordinary visions” seen by the initiates, such as flashes of light, incomprehensible apparitions and soundings.⁷⁸ A third theory is that the priests at Eleusis used opium to induce a state of ecstasy in the initiates: poppies were often associated with Demeter,⁷⁹ and in Ovid’s version of the story of the Rape of Persephone (probably of Sicilian origin) the goddess is said to have consumed a poppy.⁸⁰

Although, of course, anything is possible, the fact remains that these theories lack supporting evidence. Nowhere in the sources is there any reference to the barley having been fermented, and for pennyroyal to cause delirium it would have to be administered in doses that would have extremely serious physical side effects and even cause death.⁸¹ The use of ergot is equally speculative, as there are no references in the ancient Greek sources that would hint at its use in the Mysteries: the ancient Greeks may very well have known its psychotropic effects, but without any reference or other evidence for its use at Eleusis this remains an assumption. As far as the use of opium is concerned, despite the association of Demeter with poppies in art and iconography, there are no references that would connect it to the Mysteries. In fact, although it is possible that the priests may have used small amounts of opium to place

the initiates into a mood to experience the Mysteries, one would expect that this would have been recorded in the sources. The Greeks did not consider the use of opium a taboo, and there is no reason for which it would not have been listed, along with pennyroyal, as one of the ingredients of the Eleusinian *kykeon*.

There are logistical reasons, as well, for which the use of entheogenic agents does not appear a realistic possibility. The *mystai* drank the *kykeon* at the end of their fast; then they had to be lined up outside the Propylaea and wait until their names were checked against the priests' lists and their wreaths of myrtle replaced by wreaths of ribbons (see below). The long wait was marked by "shouting and uncomfortable jostling,"⁸² before they were allowed to enter the Telesterion and take their seats. Given the numbers of the initiates (two to three thousand), this would require an interval of several hours between the ingestion of the *kykeon* and the beginning of the secret part of the ceremony. In turn, this would mean that 2,000 to 3,000 people stood in line for hours, gave their names to the priests at the door of the Telesterion, and then proceeded inside the Telesterion in an orderly fashion, while they were in a state of ecstasy; this is not a reasonable scenario.

In the end, not only is there no evidence for the use of entheogens, but common sense suggests that the explanation is simple and does not require us to resort to elaborate theories in order to explain the religious experience of the initiates.⁸³ To modern Greeks, steeped in the Orthodox religious tradition – a tradition filled with deep religious experiences without the use of entheogens – this is self-evident. The darkness broken by light, which the sources mention, does not require any far-fetched explanations: anyone who has attended the solemn-turned-joyous Resurrection service of Greek Easter can testify to the depth and intensity of the experience, as the light of the *Anastasi* breaks the darkness of death. In the absence of any evidence for the use of entheogens, the most reasonable explanation for the use of the *kykeon* is also the simplest one, merely a nutritious meal with possibly calming effects, used to end the fast.

Telete and Epopteia

The secret part of the ceremony occurred during the night of the sixth to the seventh day, when the second degree of initiation took place, the *telete*, open to the newly initiated and to those who had been initiated in previous years. The events that unfolded during the secret part of the ceremony are hazy and, although most scholars place them in one night, it is possible that they occurred during two successive nights.⁸⁴ Before entering the Telesterion, the initiates had to be checked: their names were recorded on wooden tablets and their wreaths of myrtle were replaced by wreaths of ribbons. Our information

essentially stops with the entry to the Telesterion, as we do not know what transpired after that. From a multitude of pieces of textual and iconographic evidence Mylonas and Clinton managed to reconstruct a significant part of the secret ceremonies.⁸⁵

The dromena. The core of the dromena appears to have been some kind of enactment. There are different theories as to what this enactment may have been.

Some scholars have suggested that at the heart of the *dromena* was a *hieros gamos*, a Sacred Marriage between the *hierophant* and the priestess of Demeter.⁸⁶ This theory is based on a sermon by the fifth-century Christian bishop Asterios of Amaseia, who mentions the union between the hierophant and the priestess of Demeter in a crypt; as well as references to a sacred marriage being part of two mystery cults of late antiquity, which were thought to have been modeled after the Eleusinian Mysteries. However, as has been shown by several scholars, there is no evidence to substantiate this theory.⁸⁷

Other theories consider that part of the dromena was a sacramental meal on the basis of the drinking of the *kykeon*, but since this took place in the beginning of the initiates' stay at Eleusis and apparently before the secret part of the Mysteries, it could not have occupied a central place in the cult.⁸⁸ Burkert's theory that the climax of the secret part was the sacrifice of a ram does not seem very plausible, either, because its premise is a misinterpretation of the Demophon episode: this is not a story about infanticide, as Burkert suggests, but exactly the opposite, an attempt at making the child immortal.⁸⁹

The facts deriving from the epigraphic, literary, and iconographic evidence leave open one realistic possibility: that the *dromena* included a reenactment of the sacred drama of the story of Demeter and Persephone, accompanied by music, singing, and perhaps dancing.⁹⁰ This reenactment probably aimed at inspiring in the hearts of the initiates feelings such as awe, sorrow, despair, and finally joy; Mylonas parallels it to the Aristotelian *katharsis* of Greek tragedy. The famous passage from Plutarch's *On the Soul*, preserved by Stobaeus, describes what may have been the experience of the initiates:⁹¹

The soul suffers as do those who have been initiated into the great Mysteries, that is why the words and the actions of dying (τελευτᾶν) and performing the rituals (τελεῖσθαι) resemble each other. At first there are wanderings and exhausting walks, and unfulfilled and unclear journeys. Before the end come all terrible things, terror and trembling and sweat and awe. But after this, a marvelous light appears, and pure spaces and meadows receive [the initiate], with voices and chants and the solemnity of sacred sounds and holy spectacles.

It appears that initiates actually took part in the reenactment of the story, rather than being mere spectators.⁹² The reenactment would have taken place

outdoors, behind the closed gates and tall walls of the sanctuary, which secured its privacy. During this reenactment the initiates would visit the different locations within the sanctuary where the myth unfolded. It is possible that a ritual search for Persephone may have taken place during the reenactment outside the Telesterion, while the actual sacred drama may have unraveled inside.⁹³ Given the challenges the landscape poses to the enactment of the entire myth, it is possible that only part of the story was enacted, which seems to agree also with the iconographic sources: perhaps the reenactment picked up the story after the abduction of Persephone and at the time when Demeter came to Eleusis and sat on the Mirthless Rock.⁹⁴ It is possible that the initiates felt Demeter's pain at the loss of her child as they walked past the Mirthless Rock, their despair and fear intensified as they entered the darkness of the Telesterion. It is this wandering in the darkness that Plutarch, in the aforementioned passage, parallels to the experience of death, a connection also made by other ancient sources, but sometimes rejected by modern scholarship because logistically it does not seem possible for such an elaborate setting to have existed in the Telesterion.⁹⁵ On the other hand, as Parker suggests, this experience did not need to be anything elaborate,⁹⁶ as wandering through the darkness after proper emotional conditioning would have been sufficient. During this wandering the *mystai* may have been blindfolded, a possibility suggested by iconographic sources from related cults, where the initiates are shown hooded, and by sporadic references to the blindness of the *mystai* in the texts.⁹⁷ Dancing may have been part of the *dromena*, perhaps by the hierophant.⁹⁸ This part of the *dromena* came to an abrupt end when the hierophant sounded a gong, announcing the arrival of Kore and the happy reunion between mother and daughter.⁹⁹ We are told by the sources that the initiates saw the phantoms (“φάσματα”) of the two goddesses in brilliant light – probably sculptures illuminated from behind or from within.¹⁰⁰ The darkness was broken by thousands of torches held by the *epoptai*, standing on the steps of the Telesterion, while the hierophant conducted the secret rites “ὕπὸ πολλῶν πυρὶ τέλῳ.”¹⁰¹

The legomena. This part of the ceremony is totally unknown, except that it was the task of the *hierophant* to reveal the spoken secrets.¹⁰² These were probably short liturgical statements, perhaps explanations of what had transpired in the *dromena*. We know that some knowledge was imparted on the initiates, but it is uncertain whether this knowledge was shared during a pre-initiation stage or during the initiation.¹⁰³ If the second, this could happen during the *legomena*, especially since it was a common belief in ancient Greece that without the *legomena* the initiation ceremony was incomplete.

The deiknymena. These were sacred objects shown to the initiates, the most important of which were the *hiera*. Those were the sacred objects that were kept in the *Anaktoron* inside the Telesterion, only to be transported ceremoniously

to Athens and back during the early part of the Greater Mysteries. They were shown to the initiates by the *hierophant* and constituted the climax of the rites.¹⁰⁴ Mylonas suggests that they were relics from the Mycenaean period, perhaps figurines or ritual vases kept in Mycenaean pyxides.¹⁰⁵ Christian writers write about a phallus, but not only is there no evidence to support such claims,¹⁰⁶ but as Eliade observed, it is difficult “to admit that such a ritual was also performed by the children who were being initiated.”¹⁰⁷

The highest degree of initiation, the *epopteia*, took place either in the course of the same night or during the following night.¹⁰⁸ During that night the *mystai* became *epoptai*: from having their eyes closed they now had their eyes open and could see the truth.¹⁰⁹ It is possible that the *epoptai* witnessed a ritual involving the birth of a child (probably Ploutos) and the display of grain.¹¹⁰

During the eighth day (the twenty-second of Boedromion), libations and rites for the dead took place.¹¹¹ Each initiate would fill two *plemochoai* with liquid and, holding one to the east and the other to the west, would turn them upside down, thus pouring the content on the earth. The rest of the day was probably spent in singing and dancing.

On the ninth and final day (Boedromion 23), the participants left the sanctuary to return to their home cities. There was no procession, and the initiates did not have any special obligations to the Goddess during the rest of the year.

PART II

THE SITE AND ITS EXPLORATION

CHAPTER THREE

LANDSCAPE AND ENVIRONMENT

There is little today at Eleusis that would remind the visitor of the idyllic setting of one of the most venerated religious sites of antiquity. At a distance of only 20 km from Athens, the bustling modern city of Eleusis is connected with the capital via a busy highway that still bears the name “Sacred Way” and forms part of the same megalopolitan conurbation (Figure 1). Throughout the twentieth century, Eleusis and its adjacent area attracted the heaviest concentration of industrial installations in Greece: cement factories, oil refineries, synthetic fuel industries, shipyards, steel mills, chemical, tire, and plastic factories now fill the once revered plain around Eleusis. Although the rate of local industrial development has dropped since the mid-1990s, there are still 15 large and approximately 1,000 small- and medium-sized industrial units in the major area. The coastline is also heavily loaded and used: of the fifteen kilometers of its shores, twelve are used for harbors and docks: in total, there are thirteen harbor facilities, with an average load of 5,500 ships per year. The plain is transversed by two main highways, the Attiki Odos and the Athens-Corinth Highway, which have an annual load of 30 million vehicles.¹

The bay of Eleusis, despite its modern industrial activity, is not especially fit for use as a harbor.² The bay has an average depth of 18 m and a maximum depth of 33 m, but does not lend itself to safe harborage. It does not communicate directly with the Saronic Gulf, but is connected through the Keratsini sound to the east and the Megara sound to the west. The prevailing direction of the sea currents is from east to west.

Communication with the plain of Athens is possible through two passes: to the northeast, the narrow pass between Mt. Aigaleon and Mt. Poikilon, and to the east, the narrow pass between Mt. Aigaleon and the sea. The second pass is accessible through a narrow coastal strip of land. To the west, another narrow passage between Mt. Kerata (an outcrop of Mt. Pateras) and the sea provides access to the Megarian plain, although the rise of sea level since the end of the last Glacial period has thinned the coastal plains, cutting off some coastal communication routes. Sea level has been rising at a rate of 1 m per year between 15,000 BP until about 6,000 BP, when the rate slowed to 2 mm per year.³

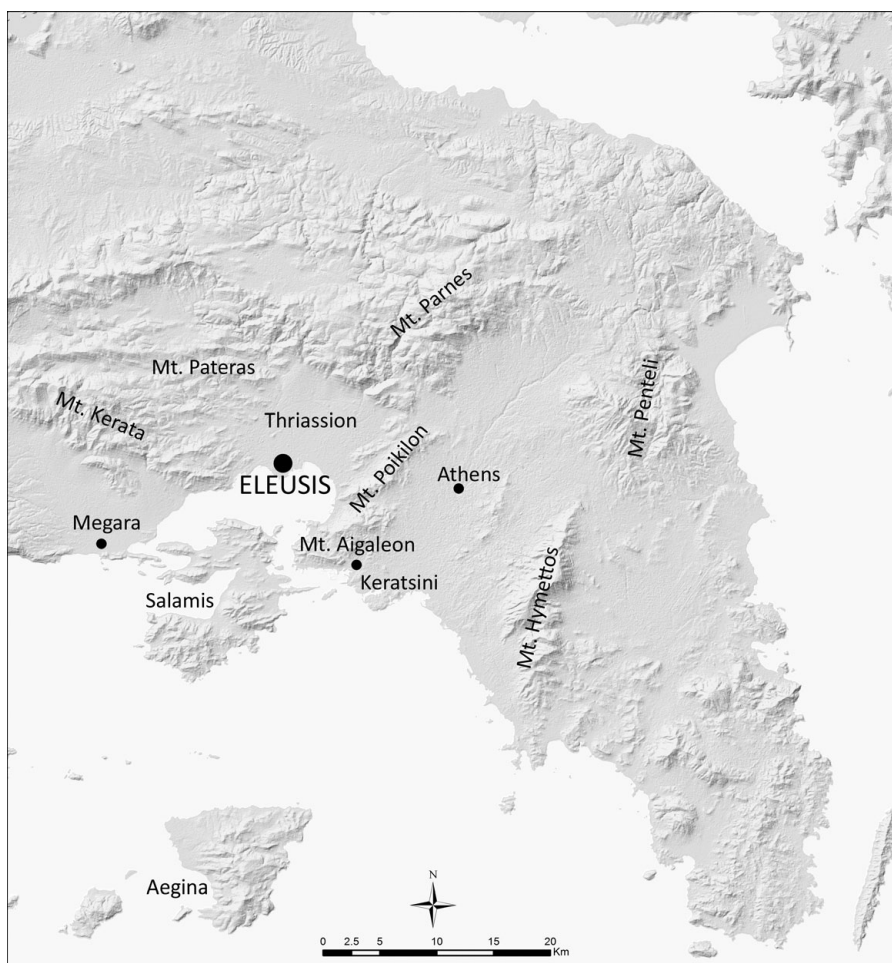
TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The ancient site of Eleusis is located in the western end of the Thriassion plain, a large alluvial plain of about 350 sq. km., which extends from Mt. Aigaleon in the east to Mt. Parnes and Mt. Pateras in the west and from Mt. Kithairon in the north to the Eleusis bay in the south. In the west the plain is broken by low hills of Late Cretaceous limestone; the rest is made up of Pleistocene sediments, with several hills made of limestone and dolomites of Triassic–lower Jurassic age. The main Eleusinian hill is a long limestone-and-marl outcrop that runs parallel to the coast for about 150 m and rises to an elevation of 30 m above sea level. The coastline has progressed considerably, as in addition to the alluvial depositions from the plain, the dumping of industrial solid waste has added about 1 sq. km. of land only in the last century.

The geologic history of Eleusis begins in the Paleozoic Era, sometime around 350 million years ago.⁴ At that time, the area that later became the Thriassion plain was a submerged part of the continental margin off the coast of the Pelagonian continent. This area was thrust onto the land during the Alpine orogeny of the mid-Cretaceous to early Neogene Periods, when compressional stress stacked pieces of continents, continental margins, and seafloor basins into a single landmass. Some of the Cretaceous limestone was gently folded into the hills that exist in the western part of the basin on the edges of the mountains.

In the early Miocene Epoch, tectonic stresses in the region switched from compression to extension, ending the Alpine orogeny.⁵ This extension stretched the crust, creating blocks separated by faults. Due to gravity, some of the blocks shifted downward along fault boundaries to become grabens; the Thriassion plain lies within one of the northwest-southeast-trending graben.⁶

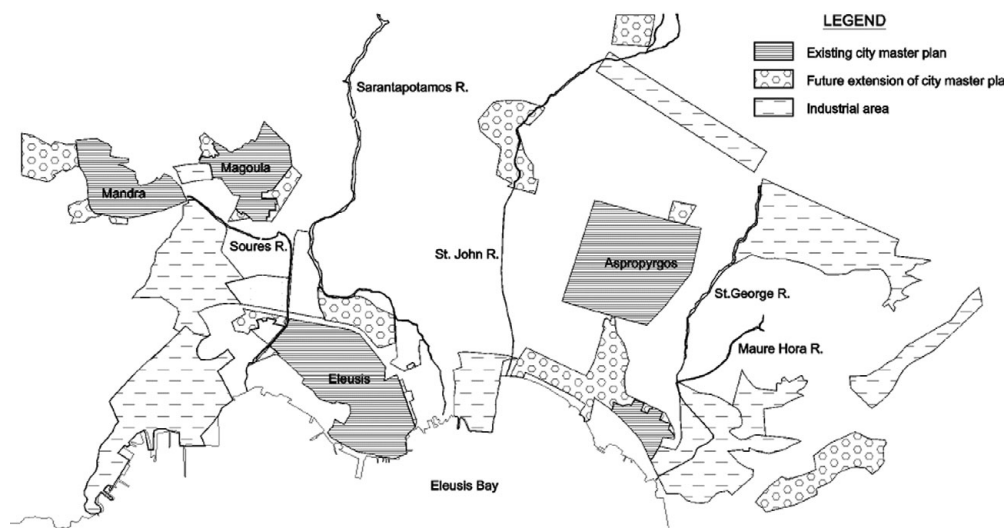
The mineral-rich sediment that resulted in the fertile soils of the Thriassion plain was deposited during the late Neogene and early Quaternary. Following the uplift of the surrounding mountains, weathering and erosion transported rock from the mountains down into the basin. About 200 meters of



1. Map of Attica showing Eleusis and surrounding topographic features. Prepared by Dr. Sylvian Fachard

sediment were deposited by the streams flowing through the plain and covered the underlying Cretaceous limestone, except where that limestone had been previously folded into hills.⁷ The soil of the Thriassion Plain is a Fluvisol, which is a young, alluvial, and usually fertile soil, whereas the surrounding mountains have a thin Leptosol soil. The minerals released from the continuous weathering of the sediments in the soil are the main reason for the fertility of the Thriassion plain.⁸

In terms of tectonics, the Thriassion Fault, which is a west/northwest to east/southeast striking, south-west dipping normal fault, forms the northern border of the Thriassion plain on the western slope of Mt. Parnes.⁹ It is an “old” fault covered with talus cones and scree, but with no sign of recent activity.¹⁰ The destructive earthquake of 1999, which damaged Eleusis and



2. Streams and torrents of the Thriassion Plain (Karavitis, Bosdogianni, and Vlachos 2001, fig. 2).

several parts of Attica, was the result of movement on the nearby Phyle Fault, about 5 km northeast of the Thriassion Fault.¹¹ The slip rate of the Phyle fault is only 0.18 mm/yr, which is much less than that of other, more tectonically active regions.¹² Before the 1999 earthquake, Eleusis had only experienced low-magnitude seismic events, with the 1705 earthquake the only seismic event of magnitude similar to that of 1999.¹³

WATER, CLIMATE, LAND USE

The watershed for the Thriassion plain covers about 480 km². The surface water resources of the area consist of six ephemeral streams (Figure 2). In the eastern end of the plain two natural lakes (the Rhetoï lakes) existed until the 1950s, when the smallest one was drained. The water table is within 30 m to 100 m of the surface of the plain. There is a local aquifer in the bedrock, which supplies the water in the springs and shallow wells at the base of the hills on the plain. In the recent past, quick withdrawal of water from the groundwater through wells has led to seawater intrusion, increasing the salinity of the soil and drinking water.¹⁴

The climate is characterized by hot dry summers and mild wet winters. According to the Meteorological Station in the Eleusis Airport, the average daily temperature varies from 9°C in January to 29°C in July and August. The average annual rainfall is 390 mm.¹⁵ The winds are predominantly from the north (30 percent), averaging between 2 and 4 on the Beaufort scale.



3. General topographic plan of the site and the modern city of Eleusis (I.Travlos). Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives.

In the Holocene period, the climatic pattern of the Eastern Mediterranean changed, mostly as a result of changes in insolation, caused by various configurations of the Earth-Sun orbits.¹⁶ At the end of the glacial period, the climate became warmer and wetter. During the Neolithic period, precipitation varied between more arid and wetter periods.¹⁷ The climate stabilized around 3000 BC at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age, with less precipitation and higher temperatures, which lasted until the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, when precipitation increased.¹⁸ Around 1000 BC, the climate once again became more arid¹⁹ and these arid conditions have prevailed into the present day, with the exception of the Medieval Climate Anomaly, when both temperatures and precipitation increased.²⁰

From antiquity all the way to today, the Thriassion plain has been under cultivation, mostly with cereals and olive trees; in fact, its fertile character is mentioned even by the early travelers to Greece.²¹ As of 2001, 20.6 percent of the plain was used for cultivation, 35.4 percent for pastures, 29 percent was forest area, and 4.4 percent was urban area.²² The agricultural census from 1911 reflects the pre-industrialization high agricultural fertility of the area, with 43.8 percent of the land used for cultivation, 16.6 percent used for pasturage, and 39.6 percent of the plain forested.²³

THE ELEUSINIAN LIMESTONE

The Eleusinian limestone was formed during the Mesozoic, under the shallow waters containing organic carbon and fragments of now extinct marine organisms, such as rudists (bivalve mollusks from the Jurassic and Cretaceous), echinodermata, and other protozoans. It is a low-porosity biomicritic limestone, which ranges in color from black to bluish to dark grey, and includes organic carbon as well as fragments of the extinct marine organisms just mentioned.

The Eleusinian limestone is used for the first time, as far as we can tell, in the Mycenaean period: the antae of Megaron B, the steps of the platform, and parts of the peribolos of Megaron B are built with this stone. In the Classical period it continued to be used both as a building material and also for secondary decorative elements: at Eleusis for parts of the Telesterion and the fortification walls, but also in other sites, including Delphi (Tholos), Olympia (floor of the Temple of Zeus), and Athens (Hephaesteion, Propylaea, Erechtheion).²⁴

The quarries from which it was extracted were on the north slope of the Eleusinian hill (Figure 3)²⁵ and had already been noted by the Society of the Dilettanti and by Lepsius.²⁶ Travlos notes that quarrying at that same location had been carried on during the first half of the twentieth century using dynamite, which destroyed any traces of the ancient quarry that might

have survived.²⁷ The fact that this is the location of the ancient quarries is shown, however, by the fact that this is the only place in the hill that the stone is of the same type as the Eleusinian limestone, and also that at a distance of only a few meters to the north of the foot of the hill and parallel to it Travlos found a series of large blocks lying at intervals in a perfectly straight line.²⁸

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EXPLORATION OF ELEUSIS

EARLY TRAVELERS

Very little information survives about the history of Eleusis from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries CE. A Saracene raid in AD 881 may have caused the population to abandon the area, as it happened in neighboring Salamis and Aegina. On the eve of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the Archbishop of Athens Michael Honiatis-Akominatos complained that Eleusis was uninhabited because of pirate raids.¹ Sometime, either in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, the area was repopulated with Albanian immigrants, who merged with the remnants of the local population.

The earliest documented visitor is Niccoló da Martoni, who mentioned a tower called *Lippisinox*, a corrupt form of the name of Eleusis.² Cyriacus d'Ancona, who visited the site briefly on April 22, 1436, noticed heaps of rubble and drew an aqueduct.³ In the seventeenth century, Eleusis was inhabited by only a few families engaging in fishing and farming, but some commercial activity took place in the harbor, which was used for exporting walnuts to western Europe.⁴ In 1675, Sir George Wheler (1650–1723), clergyman and avid collector of antiquities, arrived to Eleusis in the company of Dr. Jacques Spon (1647–1685). Wheler found the area largely uninhabited and painted a picture of ruins and desolation; interestingly enough, he also mentioned the large statue of the Caryatid, which was later removed and sent to England by Clarke.⁵ About fifty years later, in 1738, Eleusis was visited by John Montague,

the Earl of Sandwich, who noted that many sculptures had been destroyed by the Turks. At that time the village had about fifty huts and the mansion of the Turkish governor of the area. The villagers produced grain, wine, and olive oil.⁶

During the eighteenth century, the population seems to have been stagnant, as attested by Philippides and Constantas in 1791, Scrofani in 1795, and Olivier in 1798.⁷ As far as the state of the antiquities is concerned, Julien-David Le Roy (1724–1803), who visited Eleusis in February 1755, commented that Eleusis failed to “merit even the name of village.” In the sanctuary he observed a “number of fine marble temples, great aqueducts, and other traces of its former splendor”; the temple itself was in such a bad state that he found it “impossible to draw a view of it.” He also saw the statue of one of the Caryatids from the Greater Propylaea, which he mistook for a statue of Demeter.⁸

LATER TRAVELERS AND THE DILETTANTI EXPEDITIONS 1765–1860

At about the same time, the first serious interest in exploring the site was expressed by the Dilettanti Society. Richard Chandler, accompanied by the architect Nicholas Revett and the painter William Pars, visited the site during the first expedition of the Dilettanti in Asia Minor in 1765–1766. Chandler also mentioned the statue of the Caryatid, previously seen by Wheler and Le Roy, and mentioned the local folklore that surrounded it: the statue was considered sacred by the locals because it protected their crops.⁹ They called it “Saint Demetra,” a saint whose story had many similarities to the myth of Demeter and Persephone – except that her daughter had been abducted by the Turks, not by Hades.

It is this statue that was removed a few years later by another Englishman, Edward Daniel Clarke.¹⁰ In 1801, Clarke stopped at Eleusis on his way from Corinth to Athens and spotted the statue in a pile of manure. Determined to move it to England, he bribed the local authorities and eventually managed to have it loaded on a ship, but not without mishaps:

On a threshing-floor in Lepsina there stood a marble statue, which protected the village and ensured the prosperity of the cattle and the crops. Every feast day they used to light a lamp for it, just as they do for the ikons. No one could take it away. Anyone who tried to do so would have his hand cut off. Once some westerners dragged it down to the sea-shore with the intention of taking it on board their ship, but during the night it returned by itself to its place. However, in the year 1801 the English did succeed in removing it after paying a large sum of money to the Turks. On the previous day an ox had broken its halter, dashed against the statue, striking it with its horns, and then ran bellowing over the plain. The villagers understood this to mean that a great calamity would befall them if they let the statue go; they said their crops would

be destroyed. But the Englishmen persuaded them they would suffer no harm, and next day they brought the priest along with them, wearing his stole, and he took the pick and broke the soil round the statue. They lifted it up and loaded it on to their ship and took it to England and placed it in a museum: but the ship in which they were carrying it ran aground and sank.¹¹

Indeed, the statue was loaded on the ship *Princess*, which sailed to Smyrna and then to England. On April 23, 1802, as the *Princess* was sailing along the southeastern coast of England, she encountered adverse weather and was pushed ashore at Beachy Head, not far from Brighton.¹² Fortunately, the statue was saved and, along with the rest of the cargo (mostly cotton and drugs, total worth about 80,000 pounds), it was unloaded and placed under the supervision of the Collector of Customs at Newhaven. Then it was reloaded on other boats and finally reached London, eventually to be given by Clarke to the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, where it now stands.¹³

The removal of the statue confirmed the locals' worse fears:

In the following year there was a good harvest, and the peasants believed that their statue would return to them; but then came a run of bad years, and they said this was because they had allowed it to be taken away.¹⁴

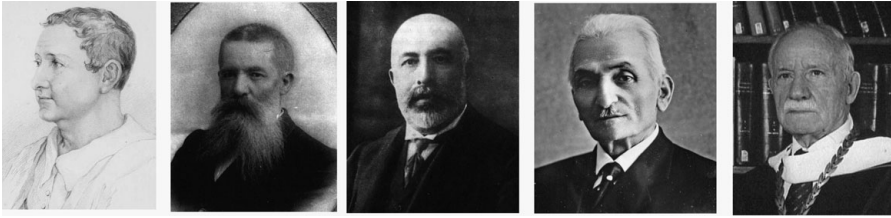
The plight of the locals was even told to Edward Dodwell in 1804¹⁵ and also recorded by Chateaubriand during his visit in 1806:

Du temps de ce voyageur on disait à Éleusis que si jamais on enlevait la statue mutilée de la déesse, la plaine cesserait d'être fertile. Cérès est allée en Angleterre, et les champs d'Éleusis n'en ont pas moins été fécondés par cette divinité réelle, qui appelle tous les hommes à la connaissance de ses mystères, qui ne craint point d'être détrônée . . .¹⁶

At about the same time, Sir William Gel launched his first trip in Greece, which lasted until 1806. At Eleusis he noticed the Albanian population and mentioned that "the air is said at some seasons to be unwholesome."¹⁷

In 1809–1811, John Cam Hobhouse visited Eleusis, which he found to be "a miserable village of thirty mud cottages with flat roofs, inhabited by Albanians", with a high square tower, where the Waiwode of the area lived. He saw the location from which a few years ago Clark had removed the Caryatid and observed ruins around the ancient site:¹⁸

The remains of the ancient Eleusis are now very insignificant; some small stones and pieces of rubbish standing upright, appear scattered about under the village, on the slope of the hill, and near the sea and on one side of an inlet on the beach are fragments of a pier. The site of the great Temple of Ceres includes most of the modern village, but the progress of decay must have been considerable since the time of Chandler.



4. Sir William Gell, Demetrios Philios, Andreas Skias, Konstantinos Kourouniotes, George Mylonas. Copyright: Published in the United States before 1923 and public domain in the United States (Gell); courtesy of the Photo Archives of the Athens Archaeological Society (Philios, Skias, Kourouniotes, Mylonas).

In 1812, the Society of the Dilettanti proceeded with the excavation of the site, under the directorship of Sir William Gell (Figure 4), assisted by the architects John Peter Grandy and Francis Redford. Gell cleared part of the northeast slope of the hill and investigated two buildings the Greater Propylaea and the temple of Artemis Propylaea.¹⁹ The Dilettanti also determined the location of the Telesterion, but the area was part of the village and was overbuilt with houses; although they did attempt an investigation, their reconstruction of the temple was incorrect.²⁰

In 1815, Pouqueville found at Eleusis about forty Albanian families and a busy harbor where small boats loaded olives, resin, wine, and wheat.²¹ In 1860, the Greater Propylaea became the focus of a brief excavation by François Lenormant, who published the first corpus of inscriptions from Eleusis.²²

SYSTEMATIC EXCAVATIONS, 1882–1997

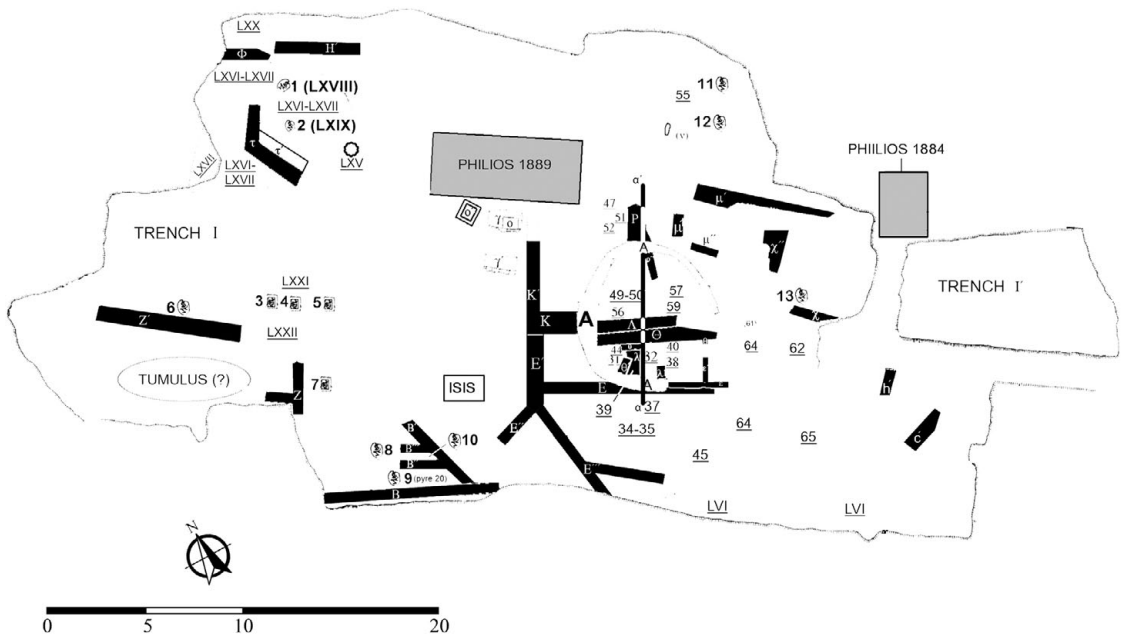
On June 2, 1882, Demetrios Philios (Figure 4) launched the first systematic exploration of Eleusis, under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society. With funds provided by the Society, Philios expropriated and demolished the houses that existed in the area of the Telesterion and then proceeded to clear the southeast corner of the Stoa of Philo, with the assistance of the young architect Wilhelm Dörpfeld. Philios spent the next ten years excavating the Stoa of Philo and the Telesterion, including parts of the Solonian and Peisistrateian Telesteria.²³ To the east of the Stoa of Philo, Philios unearthed part of the Perikleian Peribolos wall, bases of statues of the Roman period, the Peisistrateian Gate H24, the curved Geometric and Archaic retaining walls E5 and Z with remains of ritual pyres of the Late Geometric and early Archaic periods,²⁴ the foundations K16 and K17 of a platform in front of the east side of the Telesterion, and the Kimonian Gate F5. To the north, he cleared the Roman House above the Peisistrateian Storage Building H50, the Roman Temple F, the Ploutonion, and, at the top of the hill to the west of the main Eleusinian hill, found the remains of a fortification under the Frankish Tower.²⁵

On the south side, right where later Andreas Skias would excavate, Philios unearthed part of the retaining wall that supported the south embankment of the ancient Stadium.²⁶ Finally, in the outer court, he found a well, which he identified with the Kallichoron Well of the Hymn.

Andreas Skias (Figure 4) continued Philios's work from 1894 until 1907. Skias excavated a large part of the court of the Telesterion in front of the Stoa of Philo, the Hellenistic Bouleuterion and the Late Classical complex in the south court, as well as the Geometric cemetery in the south slope of the hill. Skias also excavated the Bronze Age remains in the southwest slope of the hill, in an area where Philios had conducted a limited-scale excavation in 1889 (Figure 5). The burials he found in an extensive layer of burned remains and ash led him to suggest that the entire area was a cemetery. His publication of the "Nekropolis" shows how complex the stratigraphy was and how difficult it was for archaeologists to make sense of the layer upon layer of strata spanning several centuries. Skias divided the area into "pyres," but on several occasions he noted that individual pyres could not be separated and that some of these pyres belonged together.

Konstantinos Kourouniotes (Figure 4) took over the excavation of the site in 1917 and continued to excavate there until his death in 1945. To Kourouniotes we owe the systematic investigation of the largest part of the sanctuary, and his reports in the *Praktika* and the *Deltion* are models of systematic, thorough, and careful presentation of results. In the early 1930s, he asked George Mylonas (Figure 4), then newly appointed professor of art history at Washington University in St. Louis, to investigate the Bronze Age remains of the site, which Mylonas undertook with the assistance of Ioannis Travlos. In the decades that followed, both Mylonas and Travlos were destined to play major roles in the exploration of Eleusis. In the southwest slope, near the area that had been previously excavated by Skias, Mylonas uncovered a series of houses dating to the Middle Helladic and the Mycenaean period. Subsequently, he opened new trenches under the Telesterion, in which he excavated what was preserved of Megaron B and other remains of the MH and LH periods. More Mycenaean remains were found on the summit. After World War II, Mylonas became the director of the excavations at Eleusis and in the 1950s investigated the West Cemetery, as well as previously unexcavated pockets in front of the Stoa of Philo and in other parts of the sanctuary.

After Mylonas's death in 1988, the Athens Archaeological Society assigned to the present writer the publication of the Bronze Age finds from the excavations. Because over the course of the decades the finds in the storeroom of the museum had been separated from their labels, new stratigraphic excavations were needed to produce comparative material, reconstruct the stratigraphic sequence, and allow the collection of types of evidence (especially botanical remains) that were not systematically collected in the old excavations. The



5. General plan of Skias trenches. The two shaded rectangles mark Philios's main trenches.

stratigraphic excavation took place in 1994–1996 in a part of the southwest slope of the hill that Mylonas had left unexcavated for this purpose. The results, published in Greek in the *Praktika* of those years and in English and French in the journal of the Classical Association of Canada *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* (now *Mouseion*) succeeded in providing the much-needed comparative material and stratigraphic sequence for the Bronze Age, as well as deposits of the Classical and Roman periods.²⁷

Since the early 1980s, a great deal of work has been done outside the sanctuary by the Third Ephoreia of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, under the directorship of Kalliope Papangeli. Papangeli has conducted numerous salvage excavations in the modern city, which have brought to light exciting new evidence for the history of Eleusis from the prehistoric period to the end of antiquity.²⁸

PUBLICATION OF MATERIAL FROM ELEUSIS

In the last twenty-five years, the Athens Archaeological Society has launched an ambitious program of publication of the finds from the old excavations. This program has resulted in a series of volumes on the Greater Propylaea by Demosthenes Giraud, the pyres in front of the Telesterion by Konstantina Kokkou-Viridi, the inscriptions by Kevin Clinton, and the Bronze Age by the present writer.²⁹ Additional volumes are currently in the works on the

Geometric pottery by Papangeli and the Classical pottery by Michalis Tiverios. Publication on various aspects of the Eleusinian cult on the basis of finds from the excavations include the kernoi by Christina Mitsopoulou, vessels associated with marriage by Kokkou-Viridi, and of various aspects of Eleusinian iconography and pottery by Tiverios.³⁰

PART III

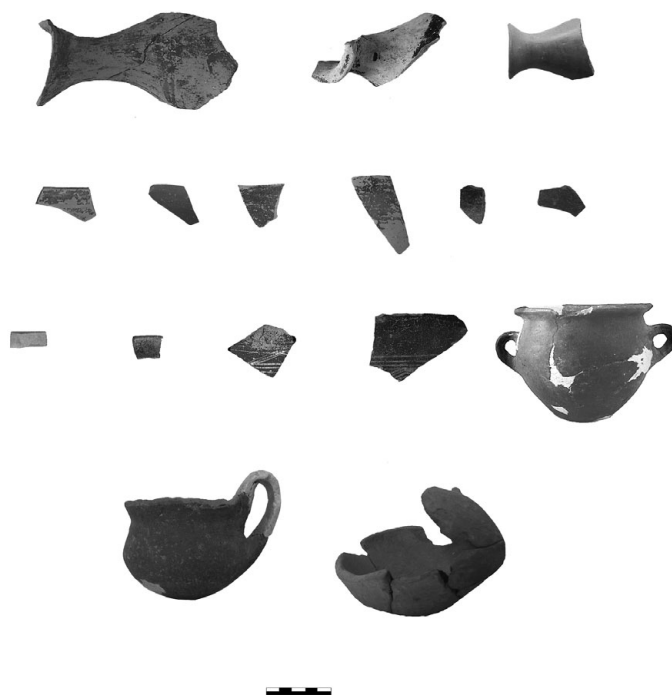
THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND MONUMENTS OF ELEUSIS

CHAPTER FIVE

EARLY BRONZE AGE

The origins of human presence at Eleusis are lost in the remote past of Greek prehistory. Although there are some indications for Neolithic presence in the periphery of the Sanctuary,¹ the earliest documented human presence inside the precinct dates to the middle of the third millennium BC, the Early Helladic period. This is an age of rapid technological advances, especially in metallurgy, which brought about deep economic and social changes and the establishment of the first urban centers.² Unfortunately, the EH remains at Eleusis are disappointingly sparse, limited to a handful of sherds. Some date to the middle of the period (EH II) and were found in a cavity of the bedrock in the south slope, presumably discarded there when later construction took place.³ A few more sherds of the same period were found by Mylonas on the surface or in mixed near-surface deposits of the east slope. The vases represented (Figure 6) are sauceboats with either wide and long or narrow and short spouts and sharply everted rims. They are all handmade, with fine or fairly fine red or pale brown fabrics and their surfaces are covered with the typical red or black glaze that is the trademark of the period (widely known as “Urfirnis”); one sauceboat has a very pale brown paint with bluish streaks and has been polished (the “faience ware”). There are also bowls with plain inturned rims in fine or fairly fine brown fabrics, also covered with Urfirnis glaze, as well as plain jars and pithoi.

A little more survives from the last two centuries of the EH period (EH III): a few sherds from neck-rimmed tankards decorated in the characteristic

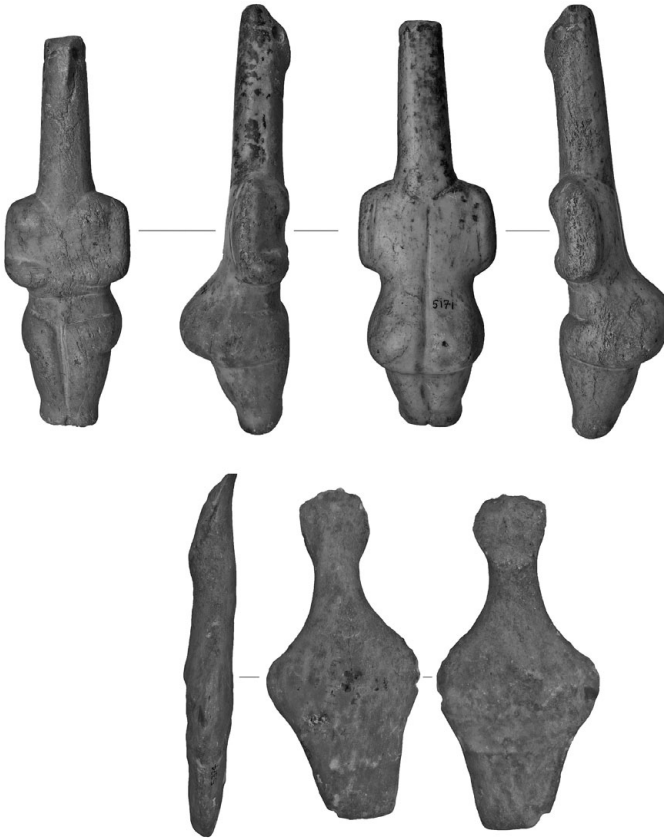


6. EH pottery from Eleusis.

light-on-dark decoration with geometric patterns (straight lines, triangles, cross-hatching) known as Ayia Marina style; also monochrome bowls and plain one-handled cups (Figure 6).

Other certain EH finds are not attested from the area of the sanctuary, except for a small number of obsidian blades that were found in the cavity with the EH II sherds mentioned earlier. A marble EC folded-arm figurine (Figure 7, bottom) is exhibited in the local museum, but was not found at Eleusis.⁴

This scanty material does not allow any meaningful conclusions about the structure, organization, and extent of the local community and generates more questions than it provides answers. For example, we cannot establish the size and extent of EH habitation. During this period Attica appears to have been densely inhabited: more than fifty known settlements suggest a density of approximately thirteen settlements per 1,000 sq. km., one of the highest on the Greek Mainland.⁵ The majority of these sites are small (0.5 to 2 ha. in area) agricultural settlements located on low hills or mounds with access to light-soil fertile lands and good grazing fields, and a good many of them are found on or near the coast. Often a strategic location is selected, commanding a mountain pass, a trade route, or a sea channel. The hill of Eleusis holds a prime location, with immediate access to the fertile lands and pasture fields of the Thriassion plain; it is also situated at a strategic place, commanding the route



7. The Neolithic and Cycladic figurines

from Athens to Boeotia and Megara as well as the sea pass of Salamis and, in general, matches well the typical characteristics of permanent EH settlements. On the other hand, some coastal EH II sites in Attica had fortification walls, but none were found at Eleusis.

Another unknown aspect of the life of the EH settlement is its relations with other parts of Greece, especially since the EH II period is one of intense connections, a sort of a *koinē*. The fact that several vases were imports suggests that Eleusis maintained some sort of trade connections with other areas, especially Boeotia or Phocis, from where the EH III “Ayia Marina” sherds appear to have been imported.

Another important question concerns the duration and stability of habitation during the third millennium: Was Eleusis inhabited continuously, or only parochially for shorter periods of time? Because the natural setting offers important advantages for economic activities, it might be reasonable to expect that the site was inhabited for an extended period of time. The absence of stratified EH II and EH III material is frustrating, given the important



8. General map of the area around Eleusis, showing the known EH sites.

technological advances and increasing social complexity of the second half of the third millennium.

Equally, it is not possible for us to reconstruct the regional settlement pattern, as the region is heavily built and surface surveys are not feasible. Two EH sites discovered by Kalliope Papangeli, the curator of the Eleusis Museum, in the modern town of Eleusis suggest a settlement pattern consisting of clusters of sites in close proximity to each other. The first site lies approximately 1,300 m to the northwest of the sanctuary (marked as 1 in Figure 8). Here Papangeli found building remains belonging to an earlier and a later phase, both within the EH period.⁶ The earlier phase includes a long dry-stone wall, preserved to a length of at least 20 m and a height of 1 m. This wall is unusual; in certain places it reaches a thickness of no less than 2 m, which is atypical of EH architecture. Although wall widths in EH buildings range considerably depending on the overall size of the building, the widest recorded walls reach a thickness of 1.40 m and most are less than 1.20 m thick.⁷ It is possible that this wall could have been a peribolos or even a fortification wall. A small elliptical peribolos (0.60–0.80 m in diameter) had been opened approximately 5 m to the south of the thick wall. The later phase includes two 0.50 m-thick

foundation walls, made of irregular stones held together with clay mortar, which defined the interior of a room. To the external side of the long wall an area paved with small stones was found, perhaps a road or a courtyard. This site also yielded a group of twenty-four obsidian blades, twenty-two obsidian flakes, and three stone grinders. The second site (marked as 2 in [Figure 8](#)) lies approximately 500 m to the north of the sanctuary, where trial trenches under a later (Geometric to Classical) cemetery revealed coarse handmade EH pottery and ten obsidian flakes, but no architecture.⁸

Further away, an EH II settlement exists at Keratsini and three more in the region of Megara.⁹ More EH settlements are known from Attica, but their relationship to Eleusis cannot be established.¹⁰

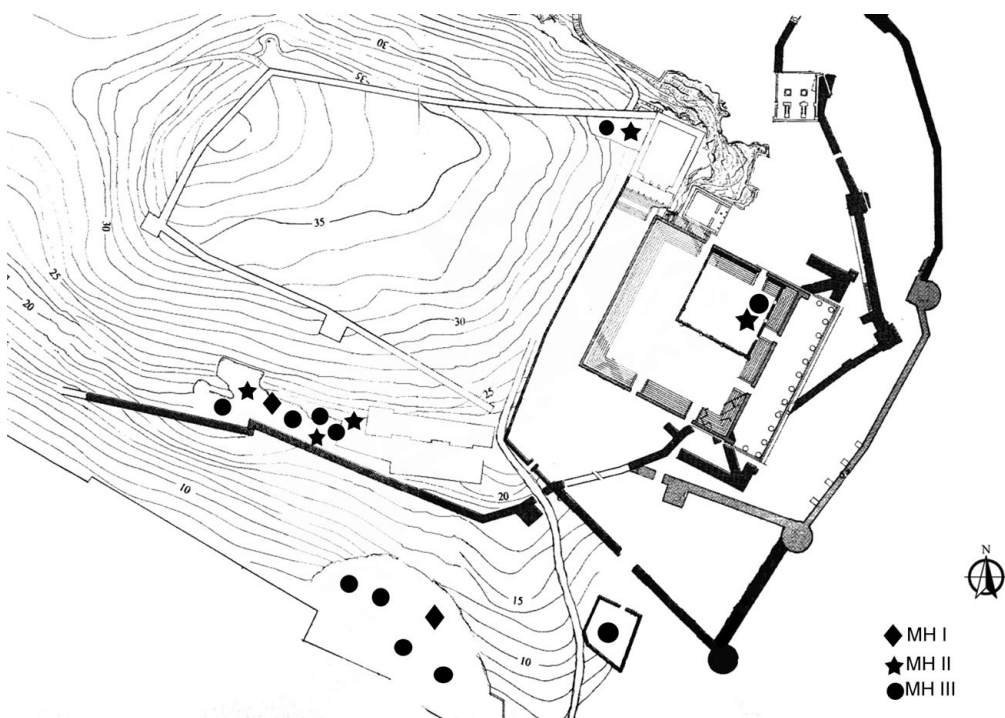
CHAPTER SIX

MIDDLE BRONZE AGE

STRATIGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

The story of Eleusis essentially begins at the start of the second millennium BC, the Middle Helladic period. Until not so long ago, this was considered a period of poverty and stagnation, with little social or economic change. Thanks to a number of recent studies, our view of this period is now changing, as we begin to discern important sociopolitical advances that led to the establishment of the complex societies of the early Mycenaean period. Still, it seems that most of these developments took place in the advanced phases of the period, while the initial phases were characterized by poverty, low social stratification, and economic decline.

At Eleusis, deposits dating to a Transitional EH III–MH I phase have not been found, which could mean that the MH I period started here slightly later than it did in other well-researched areas, such as the Argolid; of course, there is always the possibility that any remains from that Transitional phase could have been obliterated by later construction.¹ A little more survives from the MH I period (Figure 9), in the form of small deposits found in the east and south slopes, but the lack of architectural remains does not allow us to reconstruct the organization of the settlement. By analogy to other early MH settlements, the layout of the houses may have not followed a common orientation or a coherent pattern.² The spatial distribution of these deposits indicates that the

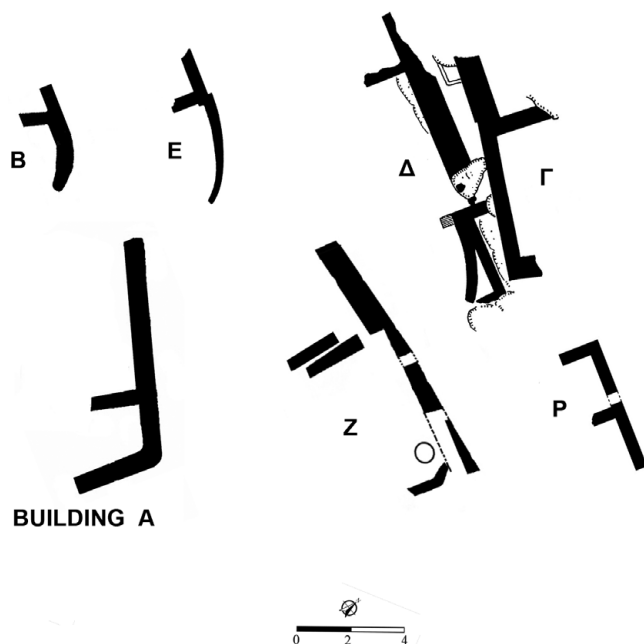


9. MH I–III deposits.

MH I settlement covered an area of approximately 1 ha. (10,000 sq. m.), with its population ranging between 150 and 200 people.³

More evidence is available from the MH II, when the settlement expanded into a larger area of the south and east slopes, as well as the summit, reaching an estimated area of about 1.5 to 2 ha. and a population of possibly between 200 and 350 people. Unfortunately, with the exception of sporadic walls associated with MH II pottery, substantial architectural remains have not survived and a settlement plan cannot be reconstructed. Further growth is observed in MH III, when the settlement expands more in both the summit and the east and south slopes, essentially doubling in size and population. The expansion in MH II and MH III is also accompanied by the establishment and gradual expansion of a formal burial ground in the West Cemetery (Figure 3) and represents a phenomenon also observed in other parts of Greece.⁴

Although the surviving MH III houses have also suffered extensive destruction as a result of later building activity, it is possible to restore some house plans and to determine the general layout of parts of the settlement. It appears that houses were built following a common orientation and placed very close to each with only a narrow passage between them. Such a tightly knit, rather than a widely spread, layout is in line with that of other late MH settlements.⁵ Houses can be rectangular or apsidal (Figure 10). Rectangular houses (Houses

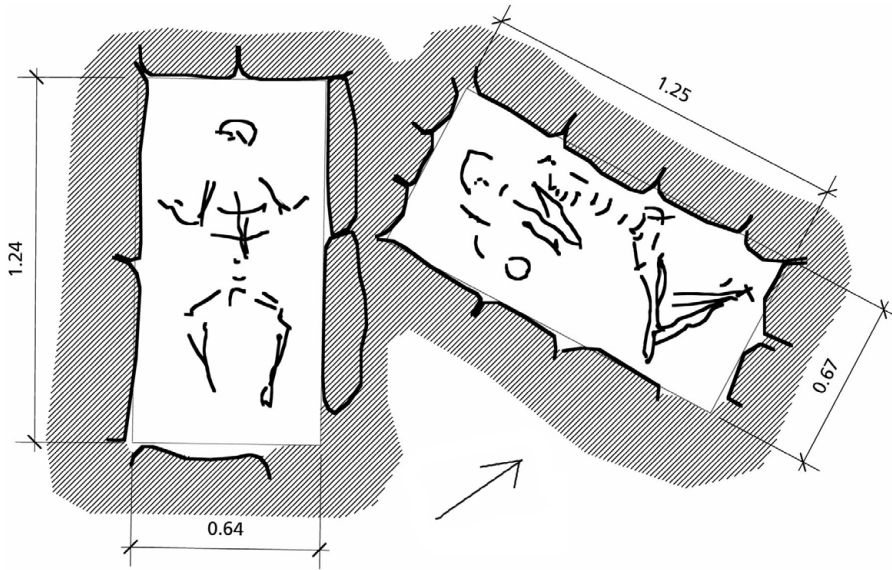


10. Plans of Houses B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, P, and Building A

Γ, Z, and P) have two rooms divided by a crosswall, and their sizes vary considerably: House Z is approximately 10 m long, House Γ at least 7 m long, but House P only 5.50 m. long. Apsidal houses (Houses B, Δ, and E; also Building A) also have two rooms, but the end wall of the smaller room is curved. The dimensions of apsidal houses can only be estimated, as most of these houses sustained considerable damage from later construction. House Δ was at least 5 m long, but Building A with a minimum length of 9.50 m was considerably larger.

The chronological relation of apsidal vs. rectangular buildings is not clear. At other MH sites, such as Eutresis and Kirrha, apsidal buildings are generally considered slightly earlier than rectangular ones.⁶ At Eleusis, in at least one case, an MH III rectangular House (House Γ) was built on top of an apsidal one (House Δ), after the apsidal house had gone out of use. The similar orientation of both apsidal and rectangular houses (at least in the south slope, where they are better preserved) suggests a common orientation pattern in the latter half of the period.

As far as the construction of MH houses goes, foundation walls are constructed with wet-laid rubble masonry: the bottom courses are made with large stones, the middle ones of smaller stones, and the top courses are lined up with a layer of small flat stones forming an even base for the mudbrick superstructure.⁷ In some cases the flat sides of the stones are placed on the outside, forming an even face. Most walls are founded on the bedrock and



11. Plans of MH Simple Cist graves

rise slightly above the floor of the house, which is typically made of a layer of pebbles or of packed earth. Because of the slope of the hill, some walls are thicker to provide additional support to the buildings: for example, the width of the long (south) wall of House Γ increases progressively from 0.60 m in its eastern part to 0.90 m in its western part to provide extra support at the point where the slope becomes steeper. The slightly curved south wall of Building A is constructed with medium-sized stones placed in clay; on the external side, the stones form an even face, but the internal face is rough, which led Mylonas to suggest that it may have been used also as a retaining wall.⁸ Antae are not used, but the long wall of Building A ends in one large oblong stone that adds stability. Door openings or thresholds have not survived.

Domestic activities are poorly documented. Storage appears to have taken place inside the houses, as indicated by *bothroi* and also by circular depressions in the floors, enclosed by clay rings made from the bellies of pithoi (e.g. House Z).⁹

BURIALS

Numerous MH graves have been found at Eleusis, both in the settlement area and also in the West Cemetery, which is an extensive burial ground located approximately 750 m to the northwest of the Telesterion (Figure 3). Specifically, forty-one graves from the settlement area and sixty-seven graves from the West Cemetery can be dated to the MH period, the vast majority belonging to MH II/III. Approximately half of the settlement graves are pits,



12. Grave H.I.

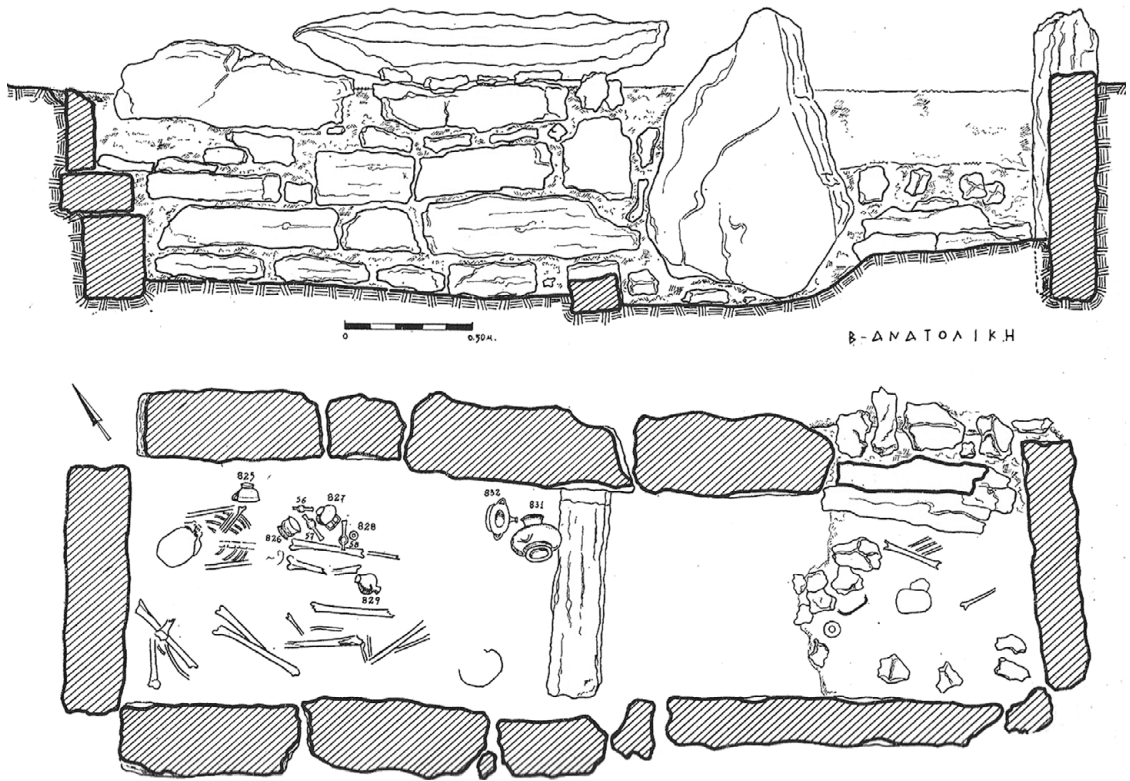
fifteen are simple cists, one is a complex cist, and six are interments in large jars.¹⁰ In the West Cemetery simple cists are by far the most popular type of grave (approximately fifty), followed by complex cists (twelve) and pits (six); only one pithos burial has been found.

Unfortunately, for many of these graves the available information is incomplete, both because excavation records for the graves investigated in the nineteenth century do not survive and also because many of the finds have been disassociated from their original context and could not be located in the museum.

Simple Cist graves (Figures 11, 12) are rectangular or trapezoidal cists, accessed from the top. Floor surfaces range from 0.07 m² to 0.985 m², with the average at 0.36 m². In general, the walls of one or more sides are lined with an upright slab and the other walls are built with small stones, although occasionally mudbricks are used instead. The openings are covered with one or two slabs ranging in length from 0.50 m to 0.80 m, in width from 0.30 m to 0.50 m to 0.70 m, and in thickness from 0.04–0.05 m to 0.08–0.09 m. In some settlement graves the top surface of each side is lined with a course of smaller flat stones creating a flat surface, on which the cover is placed, a practice also seen in the West Cemetery.¹¹ Floors are usually made of one or, more rarely, two layers of small pebbles or just the bedrock.¹²

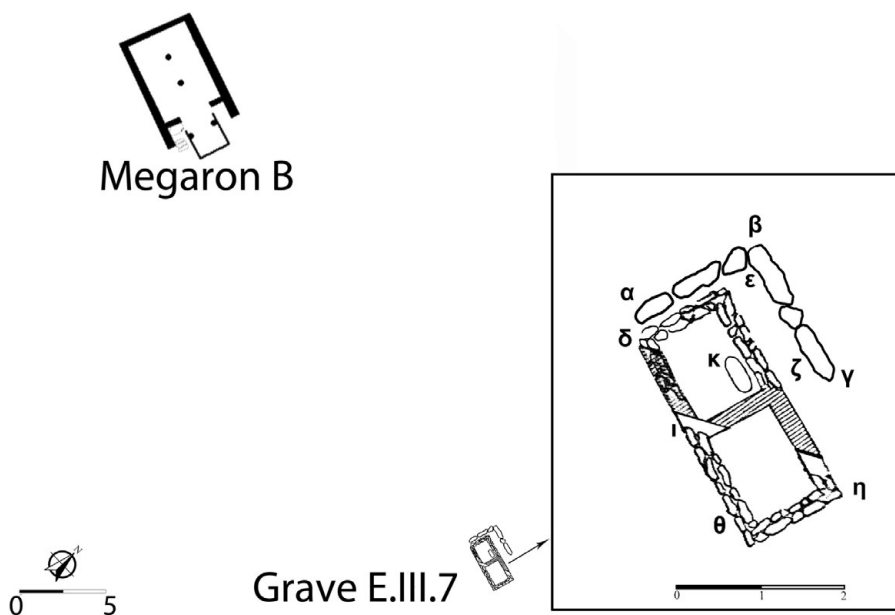
Complex Built Cist graves¹³ (Figure 13) have two compartments and an entrance at the end of one of the long sides. This type developed from the simple cist type.¹⁴ In the West Cemetery, the earliest Complex Built Cist graves date to the transition to LH I¹⁵ and become increasingly popular in the Mycenaean period, peaking in LH IIIA2.¹⁶

One of the earliest occurrences of this type is in the settlement area, where a spectacular grave was constructed in MH III, Grave E.III.7 (Figure 14).¹⁷



13. Section (top) and plan (bottom) of Complex Built Cist Grave Λπ4 from the West Cemetery (Mylonas 1975, fig. 120).

With a floor surface of 8 m² this is one of the largest known Built Cist Graves in Greece.¹⁸ It was excavated by Philios by the northwest corner of the stereobate of the Stoa of Philo, inside the Peisistrateian peribolos.¹⁹ It is rectangular, oriented approximately east-west, with a total length of 5 m., width of 1.60 m, and depth of 1 m. The external walls, built with schist slabs in dry-laid rubble masonry, are thick (0.40–0.45 m) and founded on the bedrock. The roof of the grave is made with six large slabs, 0.23–0.25 m thick. The floor is covered with a thin (0.05–0.06 m) layer of pebbles. The interior is divided by a crosswall into two compartments, each one approximately 2.30–2.40 m long. The entrance appears to have been placed at the eastern end of the long north wall, which is now destroyed; the west compartment could have served as the main burial chamber and the east as a vestibule.²⁰ It is also possible that a pile of stones found by Philios in the east compartment could have been used to seal the entrance, by analogy to tomb T4 in the West Cemetery and the rubble found outside the entrance of Grave Λπ4, also in the West Cemetery (Figure 13). These two graves provide the closest parallels in form and construction to E.III.7, although they are later: the earliest pottery in Λπ4



14. The location of Grave E.III.7 in relation to Megaron B (left); plan of Grave E.III.7 based on Philios 1889b, 188 (right).

was LH II, while T₄ may have also been LH II.²¹ Grave E.III.7 appears to have been the earliest of the three, established in MH III or LH I. In the Aegean there are very few parallels: Ayia Irini tomb 29(58), Thorikos II, the MH/LH I tomb at Xeropolis, and the more distant parallel of the grave at Makara (Lesbos).²²

The west (δ-ε) and north (ε-ζ-η) walls of the grave were encased by walls α-β-γ (Figure 14), which are parallel to the walls of the grave: the empty space between the north wall ε-ζ-η and the encasing wall (β-γ) was 0.40 m wide and filled with rubble. The west encasement wall (α-β) was attached to the external side of the west wall (δ-ε) of the grave, creating in essence a thick double wall and suggesting that this encasement functioned as support to the grave. Given the long period of use of the grave, it may have been added later as a repair. Philios found remains of a third wall to the east of the grave (not marked in his plan), but he considered more likely that that third wall may have belonged to another grave rather than the east side of this encasement. It is unlikely that this was a sort of a peribolos wall, as it would have formed a rectangle, whereas all the periboloi in the West Cemetery are round.²³

The grave was only partially cleared, because its west section lay under the Peisistrateian wall, but it contained several burials. Philios found two skulls (one adult, one child) and numerous other human bones. A small peribolos (0.70 m l., 0.50 m w., 0.15 m deep) in the floor of the grave near the north wall contained bones and fragments of coarse handmade vases. It is unclear whether



15. Finds from Grave E.III.7.

those bones belonged to animals, in which case they may have been remains of food or animal offerings;²⁴ humans, in which case they may represent the primary burial, which was placed in the pit during subsequent uses of the grave.²⁵ The burial gifts contained numerous animal bones (including one astragalus from [possibly] cattle and a deer antler), thirteen complete or nearly complete vases (Figure 15; discussed later in the chapter), powder from a bronze object and an iron fragment.²⁶ On the basis of the pottery found inside it, it seems that the grave was used from MH III/LH IA through LH IIB, which would be consistent with the numerous burials and the repair/construction encasement walls. The importance of this grave is discussed later,²⁷ but it



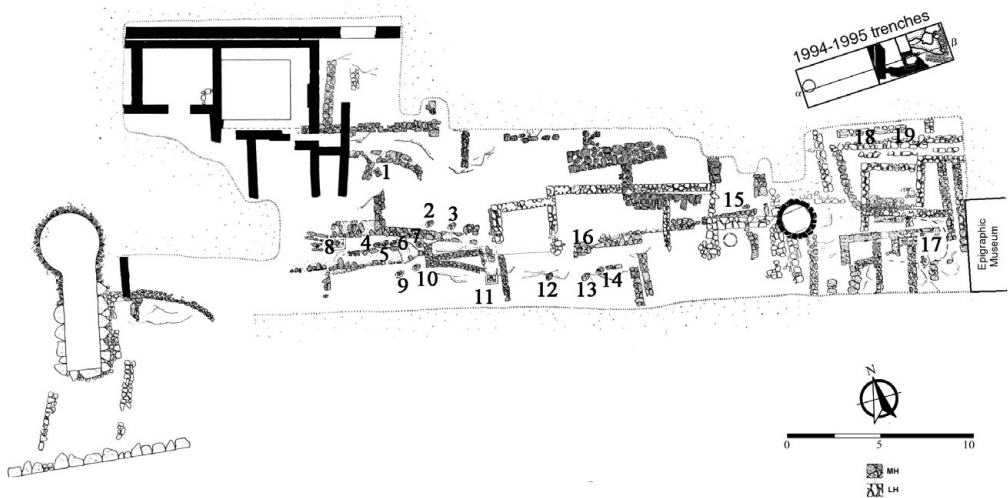
16. Grave S.III.17.

should be mentioned that E.III.7 is a rare case of a Built Cist grave known from a settlement area.²⁸

Pit graves are as common as cist graves, although the majority are found in the south slope (sixteen vs. seven in the east slope). The shape of the pit is usually an irregular rectangle and its size ranges from 0.40×0.25 m to 0.65×0.20 m. In some pits the dead are placed directly on the bedrock, although in some cases the floor is lined with a layer of pebbles. One grave in the settlement is covered with a slab (S.I.12) and one in the West Cemetery (Θπ25) with fragments of pithoi.²⁹ Grave markers are not attested, with the possible exception of an upright stone placed above two graves excavated by Skias in the south slope.³⁰ This stone is associated with two small bothroi, which Skias thought may have been used to burn offerings for nearby burials (possibly referring to S.I.2).³¹ In contrast to the popularity of pit graves in the settlement, only six pit graves have been found in the West Cemetery,³² all dating to the end of the MH period.

Six burials in ceramic containers (Figure 16) have been found, all belonging to children or infants and all dating to MH III/LH I. Other information about these burials does not exist. The only pithos burial from the West Cemetery was the MH Matt-painted pithos Ηπ14, which contained the skulls of two infants.³³ It would seem that at Eleusis, as at other sites,³⁴ ceramic containers were reserved for infants or children.

Several scholars have drawn attention to the fact that the graves located within the boundaries of MH and early LH settlements were not truly



17. Plan of the south slope showing the location of graves between houses.

intramural, because they were placed either in abandoned houses or in burial plots adjacent to residential areas.³⁵ This practice seems to have been followed also at Eleusis, where graves are placed in open areas, such as in uninhabited areas of the south slope, and are either earlier or later than the houses constructed there (Figure 17). A similar case can be made for the two MH graves to the east/southeast of Megaron B and the Stoa of Philo, which predate the buildings in their proximity.³⁶ It appears, therefore, that in the MH period the southeast part of the south slope and parts of the east slope were used as burial grounds adjacent to but not belonging with the residential areas of the site.³⁷ Even in cases where graves seem to be contemporaneous to houses, they are placed in exterior spaces between houses.³⁸

The practice of installing graves in abandoned houses, observed in other MH sites,³⁹ is not documented at Eleusis, with the exception of a jar found on top of a MH wall; this jar contained the remains of an infant and appears to have been placed there after that wall and its corresponding room ceased to be used.⁴⁰

Graves installed under the floor of a house while the house is still in use are few. Examples of this practice include a small cist placed under the floor of House A, three graves placed under the floors of Houses B and Γ, and two graves under the floor of House Δ. It is interesting to note that the custom of burying children under the floor of the house is in practice since the beginning of the period and continues until LH I.

The vast majority of graves in the settlement area are used for single burials and date, therefore, to a single period – mostly MH III/LH I. Notable is the rarity of MH I burials: although it is possible that early MH graves have been obliterated by later construction, or that some of the undated graves may

have been early, the fact is that the overall level of human activity in MH I is low, which suggests that the lack of MH I burials is more than the result of preservation bias.

Notwithstanding the uncertainties about the date and even the type of several graves, when the settlement burials are viewed in conjunction with the burials at the West Cemetery, some interesting patterns emerge. As mentioned, the graves of the settlement area are clustered in the MH II-III and MH III/LH I chronological range, after which only sporadic burials take place in open spaces between the walls of houses. In general, at Eleusis burials in the settlement area are reserved for children, placed under the floors of houses already in MH I, a practice that continues until LH I. In the MH period, the standard type of grave seems to be Simple Cists, but it appears that starting in MH III/LH I, Complex Built Cists begin to replace simple cists. The use of open spaces near but not within residential areas may have started in the middle phases of the period. If this chronological sequence is valid, it may suggest that at the end of the MH III or in the transition to LH I the settlement expanded into an area that until then had been used as burial grounds. A similar trend has been observed at Asine, where the MH II houses in the area of House D were built in a spot previously used for burials; and possibly also at Argos and Mycenae.⁴¹ The absence of adult burials from the settlement area at a time when the West Cemetery had not yet been established raises the question of where the adults were buried. One possibility is that adults were buried in unmarked cemeteries in the countryside, a practice known from the Argive Heraion.⁴² The earliest graves in the West Cemetery appear in MH II-III and mark the beginning of more formal burial practices and the spreading of the custom of multiple burials.⁴³ The MH burial customs are discussed in the section on Religion.⁴⁴

POTTERY

The range of pottery wares that occur at Eleusis during the period is wide and indicates a rich and varied ceramic tradition; although individual vases cannot be calculated, the sheer volume of the MH material (exceeding 7,000 vases and sherds) is impressive. The ceramic categories discussed in the following subsections represent most known wares from the period.

Matt-painted

Nearly 3,000 pieces of pottery, including a few complete vases, bear the characteristic decoration of dark-colored non-lustrous paint on a light background, traditionally known as Matt-painted (Figure 18). In terms of fabrics, the bulk of Matt-painted pottery is fine or fairly fine, with either a pale yellow or light

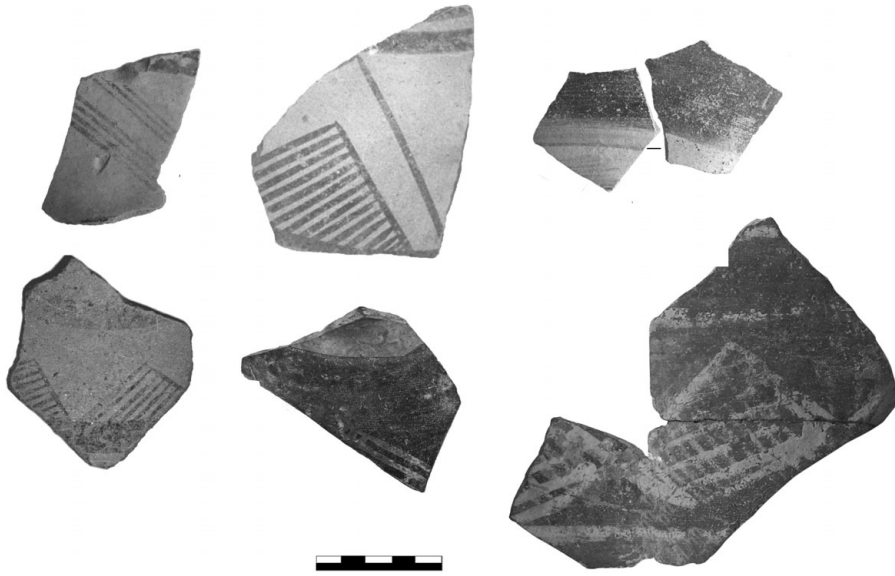


18. Selection of Matt-painted sherds and vases.

brown fabric with small black to dark grey sharp-edged grits (Dark Tempered Ware, probably of west Attic/Boeotian origin), or brown or reddish yellow fabric with gold biotite particles (Gold Mica Ware, probably of Aeginetan origin). As a rule, the majority of both Dark Tempered and Gold Mica pots are handmade, but some cups and bowls preserve marks from wiping.

Besides these two large fabric categories, which together represent about 90 percent of the MH Matt-painted pottery from Eleusis, there are three smaller groups: Fine Untempered fabrics are made with good quality, well-levigated clay, yellowish brown or pale brown in color, with either very few sparsely arranged limestone inclusions or no inclusions at all; Fine Micaceous fabrics (extremely rare, only seven vases) are fairly fine or fairly coarse, brown or red in color, with few thin silver mica grits; and Cycladic Micaceous fabrics (only thirteen vases), with red, coarse or fairly coarse and often gritty pastes containing silver mica and quartz inclusions and originating in the Cyclades, probably Keos. The surfaces of these pots (which are barrel jars, deep basins, and globular jars) are coated with a thick yellow-creamy slip, on which motifs are painted in dark paint. One sherd belongs to a Cycladic bichrome jar, and its sandy greenish buff and slightly porous fabric with calcite and black grits suggests a Theran or Melian origin.

As far as shapes are concerned, Matt-painted decoration is used for ten open and seven closed shapes, the commonest of which are bowls with angular or rounded profile, cups, and kantharoi. Matt-painted pots figure prominently also in the grave offerings of the West Cemetery, but the vases found here belong mainly to small open vessels, like Vapheio-type cups and basket-handled globular cups, probably surviving into LH I.⁴⁵



20. Selection of Lustrous Decorated sherds.

background; these pieces may have been of Minoan inspiration but not Cretan products (“Minoanizing”).

In general, the place of origin of Lustrous Decorated pottery is thought to have been Kythera, as characterization studies have shown that Lustrous Decorated pots found on the Mainland are made of clays similar to those found on Kythera or Laconia, with a variety of sand grains or chert and mudstone fragments. Kiriati, who recently analyzed this ware, points out, however, that the low frequency of this pottery at Kythera deposit δ (MM IB–MM II) and the strong Peloponnesian stylistic features of Lustrous Decorated pots weaken the possibility of a Kytheran production center.⁴⁷ In terms of frequency, Lustrous Decorated pots are never very common in MH sites, but they are especially few at Eleusis.⁴⁸ Coarse or fairly coarse sherds with large amounts of mica imitating Minoan pottery, which occur in southern Peloponnesian sites, have not been identified at Eleusis.⁴⁹ Interestingly enough, Lustrous Decorated pots are not present in the graves of the West Cemetery.

Grey Minyan

Grey Minyan ware (Figures 21, 22) is represented by more than 3,500 sherds; of these, approximately 90 percent belong to wheel-made or wheel-fashioned fine or fairly fine pots with polished surfaces and sparse small lime inclusions.⁵⁰ About seventy pieces include also very small sparkling mica grits. The color of the surface ranges from “true” or “typical” grey (angular and rounded bowls, stemmed angular bowls, cylindrical cups, angular and rounded cups, juglets,

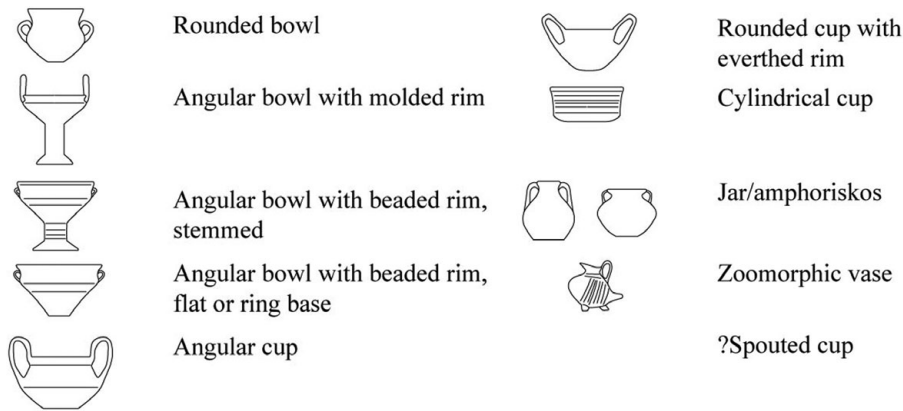


21. Selection of Grey Minyan pottery.

and flasks); to “graphite” grey (angular and rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls and angular and rounded cups). Smaller groups of Grey Minyan pottery are light-grey and greyish-brown, both occurring in MH II-MH III on wheel-made angular and rounded bowls and kantharoi, and angular and rounded or semiglobular cups. Analyses of the sherds of this class show that it consists largely of fine-grained fabrics with inclusions that, although not allowing a definition of their origin,⁵¹ are associated with a likely Boeotian low-grade metamorphic environment.⁵²

Besides the fine/fairly fine Grey Minyan pottery, there is also a small share (about 7 percent) of coarse and fairly coarse pots with sandy grey or yellowish to brownish-red fabrics with small angular greyish to black pebble or limestone inclusions. Surfaces are burnished and some pieces have a fugitive dark-colored slip, which makes them difficult to distinguish from the fairly coarse or coarse dark burnished pieces (discussed later). These are probably local products, imitating true Grey Minyan. The commonest shape is the kantharos and the rounded bowl with everted rim.

The main shapes (Figure 22) are bowls, both rounded and angular (the latter with molded and beaded rims), some with stems and others with flat or ring bases; angular, rounded, or cylindrical cups; spouted cups (profile uncertain, mentioned but not illustrated in Figure 22); and very few closed vases, small jars with ledged thickened rims and the occasional zoomorphic vase. Grey Minyan open vessels such as goblets, hemispherical cups, and kantharoi are also encountered at the West Cemetery.⁵³



22. Grey Minyan shapes.

The chronological development of Grey Minyan pottery at Eleusis appears to agree with the development in other sites. True Grey Minyan pottery is present at Eleusis since MH I, but “graphite”, light grey, and greyish-brown Grey Minyan vases appear for the first time in MH II and continue in MH III. The repertoire of MH I shapes includes rounded bowls with everted rims and angular cups with everted rims; two fragments of flasks and one bird-shaped vase are unstratified, but can be assigned to the MH I on the basis of parallels from other sites. In MH II there is an expansion in the range of shapes, with angular bowls with beaded, molded, or everted rims, rounded bowls with everted rims, stemmed angular bowls, and angular and rounded cups with everted rims. These continue in MH III, when cylindrical cups and small jars are also introduced. Rounded bowls with everted rim are decorated with groups of parallel horizontal or vertical incised lines, rather irregular and shallow in MH I, but sharp and crisp in MH II; and also with horizontal parallel ridges in MH II. Only a small number of sherds are decorated with incised festoons, although such decoration occurs in Grey Minyan and Dark Burnished pottery from most sites.⁵⁴ Stems of angular cups with incisions imitating grooves appear toward the end of the period.

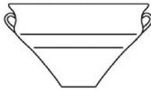
Grey Minyan is a high-quality ware, produced in specialized pottery workshops. A major production center may have been located in the Attica-Boeotia region, although it is possible that other production centers also existed.⁵⁵ Indeed, at Eleusis, the fine/fairly fine Grey Minyan pots (which, as we saw from an earlier discussion, represent more than 90 percent of the total Grey Minyan pottery) are at home in the Attic-Boeotian Grey Minyan tradition: the same vessel shapes and fabrics that occur at Eleusis are attested at Orchomenos and other central Greek centers of production, especially angular bowls with beaded rims and rounded cups with everted rims, and it is reasonable to assume that the Eleusinian Grey Minyan pots were imported from there. On the other



Rounded bowl



Angular bowl with beaded rim, stemmed



Angular bowl with beaded rim, flat or ring base

?Flask

23. Dark Burnished shapes.

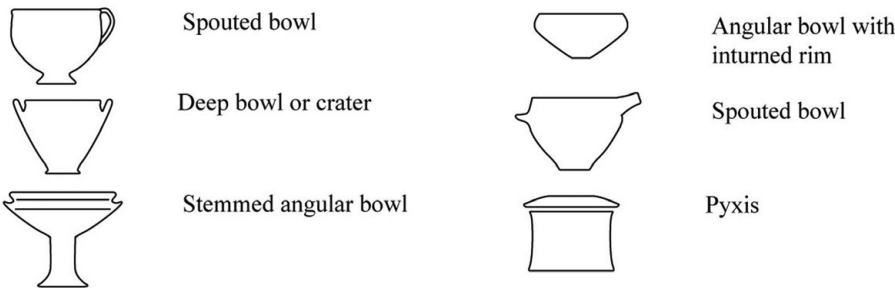
hand, the few coarse or fairly coarse “imitations” of Grey Minyan may have been the local answers to the finer imported variety or simply products of “short-lived experimentations.”⁵⁶

Dark Burnished

Dark Burnished vases (Figure 23) resemble coarse Grey Minyan, but they have a different surface color because of the slip that coats the surface; in most cases these pots also preserve traces of burnishing marks. The Eleusinian Dark Burnished pottery corresponds to the “Brown Minyan” pottery of Orchomenos.⁵⁷ Dark Burnished pots from Eleusis include flasks (profile uncertain, mentioned but not illustrated in Figure 23) and bowls (both rounded bowls with everted rim and angular bowls with beaded rim; Figure 23), rarely decorated except for the occasional bowl with parallel horizontal ridges on the shoulder. Overall there are very few pots of this type, and they do not appear at all in the West Cemetery.

Red Slipped and Burnished

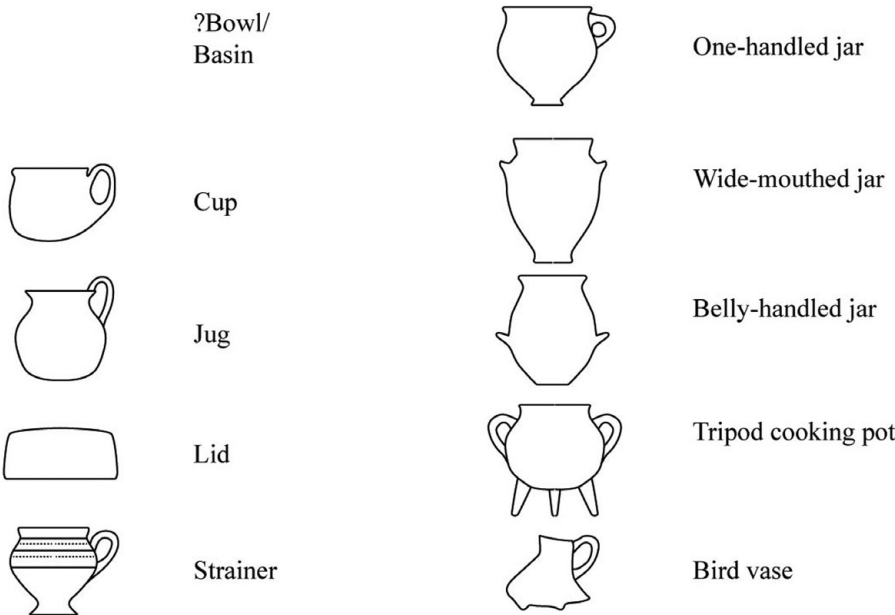
Red Slipped and Burnished pottery is characterized by red or reddish-orange slipped and burnished surfaces; fabrics are reddish brown, brown-buff, or orange-pink, either fine with gold mica particles (which are of Aeginetan origin) or gritty with silver mica (Cycladic, possibly from Keos). This is a small group, comprising sherds from between twenty-five and thirty individual vases: rounded bowls with everted rims, kraters, stemmed angular bowls with everted or flaring rims, angular bowls with inturned rims, bridge-spouted bowls, and pyxides (Figure 24). In some cases, the red burnished surfaces are decorated with painted or incised patterns. With the exception of one pyxis lid that could be MH I (or even earlier?), all pieces are MC/MH II.



24. Red Slipped and Burnished shapes.

Undecorated Pottery

About 200 pots and sherds with untreated or crudely smoothed surfaces without any kind of decoration can be dated to the MH period. The real quantity of undecorated vases would have been much larger, as there is a large number of undecorated sherds without provenience information, some of which for certain date to this period. The majority of these pots have Dark-Tempered or Gold Mica fabrics (the first possibly local, the second Aeginetan),⁵⁸ but there is also a small group of fairly fine fabrics with dense thin silver mica grits (Cycladic, possibly from Keos). About two-thirds of the undecorated pottery consist of coarse or fairly coarse jars (of the one-handed and wide-mouthed types), cooking pots, and strainers, while the remainder is fine or fairly fine bowls, cups, and juglets (Figure 25; profiles of bowls/basins are not certain and are not illustrated). About half of the one-handed jars are Aeginetan and



25. Shapes of unpainted vases.



26. Selection of “Adriatic” (left) and Cycladic (right) incised vases.

the other half is equally divided between Cycladic and local. Wide-mouthed jars and tripod pots are both Aeginetan and local, but basins are almost exclusively Cycladic. Undecorated pottery is common at all sites, but it is rarely analyzed because the material is often not well stratified (which is the case also at Eleusis), and also because it does not lend itself easily to typological and chronological classification. This situation has been remedied in recent years thanks to studies by J. Maran, M. Lindblom, and G. Touchais.⁵⁹ The undecorated pots from Eleusis lack information about their provenience, so in general they are dated to MH II–III, although some could be as late as LH I or even LH II.

Incised/Plastic Decoration

In this category are included fairly coarse or coarse vessels with burnished surfaces and incised, stamped, or plastic decoration (Figure 26). The shapes represented are medium-sized, deep jars with gently curved shoulders, bird vases, and pyxides or askoi. This type of decorated pottery is rare at Eleusis and not attested at the West Cemetery. It includes two types of incised pottery: the first is the ware often referred to as “Adriatic”⁶⁰ or “Herring-Bone Incision.” Only three “Adriatic” pieces have been identified among the material from Eleusis (Figure 26): a nearly complete jar, a base from a bowl, and a handle from a second bowl. This ware is usually considered a product of Messenia or the southwest Peloponnese, but it occurs in most Mainland sites in diminishing quantities as we move farther from that region.⁶¹ The second type of incised pottery comprises imported Cycladic vases, known also as “Dark Burnished and Incised.”⁶² Vases of both categories have red, brown, or grey/black burnished surfaces and are usually pyxides or askoi. Six pieces have been found



27. MH bird-shaped and bull-shaped vases.

at Eleusis, some bearing stamped decoration of single or double concentric circles.

Plastic decoration is rare: in fifteen fragments of handmade wide-mouthed jars there is a horizontal plastic band under the rim, sometimes with short vertical or diagonal incisions. With the exception of two vases, these jars have gold mica and likely are Aeginetan imports. The surfaces are smoothed and coated with a thin slip, usually in the same color as the fabric. The stratigraphic provenience of these jars is not known, but parallels in other sites date to the end of the MH period or even LH I.⁶³

FIGURINES

Middle Helladic figurines have not been found, which agrees with the overall small-scale production of figurines on the Mainland during this period.⁶⁴ What we do have from Eleusis is a small collection of zoomorphic vases, which include two bird-shaped askoi from the settlement (Figure 27 top) and two bull-shaped rhyta from the West Cemetery (Figure 27 bottom).⁶⁵ One of the askoi (Figure 27, right) is made of fine light-brown fabric with numerous small white inclusions and sparse mica and is decorated with vertical incisions on both sides of the body.⁶⁶ Its spherical-elliptical body tapers to a point, forming a tail-shaped back; it has a short neck with a leaf spout, a high-swung strap handle attached to the shoulder, and three short feet which are round in section. A MH I bird-vase from Kolonna is the only parallel to this askos of which I am aware.⁶⁷ The bull vases are rhyta, each with one hole on their

backs, and do not have any parallels in other MH sites; Mylonas mentions two Minoan bull-rhyta, but these have two openings each.

METAL, STONE, BONE TOOLS

Metal workshops have not been found and the number of metal objects is in general very small: only five metal pieces have been located in the museum and their dates are uncertain (Figure 64). An unusually long (9.5 cm) bronze nail may not have had a practical use; its head may have supported a separate piece of jewelry (perhaps similar to the golden star cutout pieces from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae).⁶⁸ A heavily oxidized piece may have been a projectile. Two lead pieces belong to mending clamps and a third one to a lead band. In addition to these, Mylonas has published a bronze blade found in grave E.III.6,⁶⁹ which dates to MH III/LH I, but this has not been located in the museum. Metal objects are also reported from several tombs of the West Cemetery. Bronze tweezers were retrieved from Grave Ζπ6, as well as two thin bronze and silver wires used probably as rings.⁷⁰ To the offerings of the same grave should also be added a tongue-shaped dagger and a long bronze pin with a lozenge-shaped edge.⁷¹ Another pin of bronze with a pressed spherical edge came from Grave Μπ4 of the West Cemetery.⁷²

Household production is documented by a small number of objects, although the original contexts for most of these are unknown and their dates could be anywhere between MH II and LH IIIA1. Cloth manufacture is suggested by the spindle whorls that have been found both in the settlement and the West Cemetery. Mylonas reports several terracotta and steatite conical and biconical spindle whorls,⁷³ but of these only three conical and one biconical whorl could be found in the storeroom of the museum.⁷⁴ The height of the conical whorls is 2.1–2.2 cm and their weight 13–15 grams; the biconical whorl is taller (3.0 cm) and heavier (20 grams). A stone disk preserves a hole that appears to have been an incomplete perforation; in form and size it resembles terracotta discoid loomweights from Nichoria.⁷⁵ An incised spindle whorl found by Mylonas in House Z has not been located in the museum. Given the absence of context, these whorls can only be dated to the general MH-LH range. Given the small sample and the lack of information about the provenience of these whorls, conclusions about cloth production cannot be drawn. Twenty-five conical, biconical, and globular spindle whorls were found in graves of sector Θ of the West Cemetery.⁷⁶

Among the other artifacts found at the site, there were only a few stone tools: two hand axes, three pounders/grinders, and several small querns. The collection of chipped stone is equally poor. Mylonas mentions three arrowheads from Grave E.III.5 (made of black Eleusinian stone, quartz, and obsidian), but because these were found under the floor of the grave, they probably did

not belong with the burial.⁷⁷ Two more arrowheads, one of black Eleusinian stone and one of flint, along with a denticulated flint blade, were found in the new excavations.⁷⁸ Sparse obsidian blades and flakes are reported from several deposits of the east and south slopes.

A number of items made by worked bone were published by Mylonas. A bone band, 18 cm long and 1.8 cm wide, decorated with incised concentric circles, was found in Grave E.III.6.⁷⁹ Two bone pins, one with parallel horizontal incisions around the head and the other with a carved head, were found in the south slope.⁸⁰ A third pin, also illustrated by Mylonas, is of unknown provenience.⁸¹ A small (l. 8.6 cm) denticulated tool preserving nine teeth placed in a row may have been used as a comb.⁸² Finally, fifty-one worked small fragments of boar's tusks, perhaps from a pendant, were found in Grave E.III.6.⁸³

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Subsistence

In the MH period communities were organized in villages, the economy of which was based on agriculture and husbandry.⁸⁴ The preserved faunal remains from Eleusis are not helpful in establishing subsistence strategies, as not only were they not systematically collected during the 1930s excavations, but also context information for the remains that were located in the museum has been lost.

Faunal and botanical remains from the MH period at Kolonna on Aegina suggest a mixed livestock economy based on both primary (meat) and secondary (wool, milk) products.⁸⁵ Ovicaprines seem to dominate the faunal record from other sites with published animal bone remains, such as Lerna, Argissa Magoula, and Pefkakia Magoula in Thessaly and Kastanas in Northern Greece.⁸⁶ At Asine the commonest animals represented are pigs, followed by sheep and goats and a small percentage of wild animals, mainly red deer.⁸⁷

As far as agriculture is concerned, the evidence from Kolonna shows that field crops are dominant, with emmer wheat, bread wheat, and barley represented equally; grapes, figs, and olives are also present.⁸⁸ Mollusks represent the largest percentage in marine remains.⁸⁹

Trade

Ceramics constitute the main body of evidence for the trade connections of Eleusis. The analysis of MH pottery fabrics indicates that the site participated in a complex trade network. Its major trading partner is, undoubtedly, the

island of Aegina. Aeginetan products dominate the ceramic assemblage of the site and include a wide range of imported vases from Aegina, mostly Matt-painted and Red-Slipped and Burnished tableware, but also plain and coarse cooking and storage vases (Figure 28).⁹⁰

Given the well-documented economic dominance of Aegina over much of the Greek Mainland and for a long part of the MH period, the presence of such wares at the site is to be expected.⁹¹ What is surprising, however, is that at Eleusis Aeginetan products are very common since the beginning of the period; imported Aeginetan material in MH I amounts to about half of the total datable pottery and rises to between 60 percent and 70 percent in MH II and MH III/LH I. This contrasts with the picture we have from other Attic and Boeotian settlements, where Aeginetan pottery is sparse in the early part of the MH. For example, Kiapha Thiti and the Athenian Agora have produced only one Aeginetan import each, Aeginetan imports from the MH I period at Aphidna are missing, while the frequency of Aeginetan imports in Boeotia is even lower than that of Attic sites.⁹²

Boeotia seems to have been another important trading partner of Eleusis during the MH period, as indicated by the large number of Grey Minyan vases. Characterization studies on Grey Minyan pottery have showed that their fabrics form a fine silicate group, consisting of fine-grained pastes with inclusions that, although they cannot provide a definitive origin, are likely associated with a Boeotian low-grade metamorphic environment.⁹³ In addition, the group of Dark Tempered vases, which to a large extent imitate Aeginetan Matt-painted pottery, may have been imported from Boeotia or west Attica. The percentage of wheel-made Matt-painted Dark Tempered tableware is small in MH I, but increases considerably in MH II,⁹⁴ perhaps suggesting that the potters of this regional west Attic/Boeotian workshop were catching up with their technologically more advanced Aeginetan competitors. On the other hand, the possibility that this group was produced locally at Eleusis is addressed later in the book.⁹⁵

Another area with which Eleusis maintains trade contacts in the MH period is the Cyclades, although judging from the small number of Cycladic imports (approximately thirty vases) these contacts are limited. Middle Cycladic II Matt-painted pithoi with dense mica and red slipped and polished bowls originate in Keos, whereas from Melos have come four Cycladic White jugs and jars,⁹⁶ the occasional MC I pyxis and askos with incised or stamped decoration may have been of Theran or Melian origin. Cycladic finds are commonly found at sites in Attica due to the proximity of the region to relevant networks of exchange. Cycladic imports (i.e., Cycladic White and “Red and Black”-style decorated pots; probably Keian red slipped and burnished pots) have been identified at Marathon, Kiapha-Thiti, Thorikos, and Athens.⁹⁷ At Eleusis, however, Cycladic pots are especially sparse compared to local, west

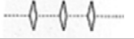
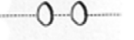
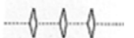
		MP	RSB	Plain	Coarse
Tableware	Angular bowl with everted rim	●			
	Angular bowl with flat rim	●			
	Rounded bowl with everted rim	●	●	●	
	Rounded cup with everted rim	●			
	Angular bowl with inturned rim		●		
	Spouted bowl	●			
	Angular cup with flaring rim	●			
	Angular stemmed cup with everted rim	●			
	Jug	●			
Cooking	Tripod pot				●
	One-handled jar			●	
	Wide-mouthed jar			●	
Storage	Type 1 jar	●			
	Type 2 jar	●			
	Pithos type 1	●			
	Pithos type 2	●			
	Bogenrippen Amphora	●			
	Pyxis		●		

28. Aeginetan imports.

Attic/Boeotian or Aeginetan pottery. In other Attic sites, imports from Keos are more common, presumably due to the proximity of the island to the eastern coast of the Attic peninsula; a fragment of MC II polychrome style pottery from Ayia Irini (Keos) phase IV was found in Kiapha-Thiti and is indicative of the relationship between these sites.⁹⁸ Imports from Keos have also been identified in the Athenian Agora and Brauron.⁹⁹

Relations with Crete seem to have been nonexistent, as there are no Minoan imports from either the settlement or the West Cemetery.¹⁰⁰ The sparse “Minoanizing” sherds from the settlement probably traveled to Eleusis through Aegina or the Argolid.¹⁰¹ This coincides with the scantiness of MM imports and of “Minoanizing” pottery in other Attic MH sites.¹⁰²

Connections with the Peloponnese are sparse for the longest part of the MH period. In MH II appear the first imports from Laconia or Kythera in the form of dark-on-light Lustrous Decorated Pottery. Their miniscule percentage (less than 0.5 percent) at Eleusis agrees with the distributional pattern of this ware from other sites, which shows that it is common in the southern and eastern Peloponnese but tapers off in Attica and Boeotia.¹⁰³ Given that during the MH, systematic trade with the Argolid and Corinthia did not exist, the appearance of this style at the end of MH and the start of the Mycenaean period indicates a shift in the trade alliances of Eleusis. That Eleusis was also part of these networks is of great importance, since the diversity of imported vessels bears witness to the economic prosperity of the site.

Description	Mark	Description	Mark
A59		Two small oval knobs with vertical lines inside	
C3		Three pellets	
C3		One pellet	
I23 incised inverted V		One pellet	
C6 (two oval impressions)		One pellet with four to six diagonal lines underneath	
C3		A24 ³⁴²	
G3 two shallow oval impressions		A15 (one incised line)	

29. Potter's marks on Aeginetan pottery. Numbers refer to Lindblom 2001.

In general, the prominence of Aeginetan fabrics places Eleusis firmly within the core area of Kolonna's sphere of influence,¹⁰⁴ but the site also maintains strong ties with the west Attica-Boeotia region. In assessing the spatial distribution of these networks, it is useful to express these relationships using Wright's terminology: "local," "locality," and "regional."¹⁰⁵ Eleusis's relations with Aegina were part of a *regional* network, much like that connecting Keos with the mainland of Attica, whereas those with west Attica/Boeotia were part of the network of Eleusis's *locality*. The dominance of Aeginetan fabrics at Eleusis seems to confirm Papadimitriou's suggestion that this site served as the point of entry for Aeginetan products into west Attica and Boeotia,¹⁰⁶ and perhaps even further, into central and northern Greece.¹⁰⁷ The economic importance of Eleusis as a trading post may explain not only the prevalence of Aeginetan products already in MH I but also the fact that, in contrast to some inland Attic sites that seem to have been settled (or resettled) in MH III, Eleusis was *continuously* inhabited throughout the MH period.¹⁰⁸

Production

In general, in the MH period, household industries seem to have been the main mode of production for most craft activities, including toolmaking. The overall number of tools and ornaments is small and they remain simple in function and basic in form throughout the period.¹⁰⁹ Ethnographic parallels suggest that pottery making was a task performed predominantly by men, although women and children could be involved in several stages of production,



30. Potter's marks on Grey Minyan sherds. Drawings of marks from Crowel 1973.

from the collection of fuel to the decoration of the pots.¹¹⁰ The models so far proposed for the understanding of MH economy suggest that production develops from simple household production for consumption within the household to complex production for trade and/or prestige.¹¹¹ The situation on Aegina suggests the existence of workshops specialized on one type of ware; such workshop could have been closely connected to the commercial center at Kolonna.

Direct evidence for industrial production at Eleusis does not exist, as ceramic workshops or kilns have not been found.¹¹² Given the dominance of the ceramic assemblage by the two large groups of imported pottery, Aeginetan and Dark Tempered, local ceramic production may have been limited to coarse storage and cooking vases. On the other hand, the geographical origin of Dark Tempered pots is unknown and the possibility that those were products of a workshop located either at this site or in the wider area of west Attica should be considered. Dark Tempered pots are decorated with motifs that either do not occur on Aeginetan pottery or are of Aeginetan origin but used on different shapes than those on which they are found at Aegina. This differentiation may reflect some level of independence and innovation on the part of the workshop that produced Dark Tempered pottery. The advanced familiarity with Aeginetan products that Dark Tempered Matt-painted pots show suggests that they were produced at a place where Aeginetan products were widely circulating and it is possible that this place was actually Eleusis. In that case, Dark Tempered pots may have been the local or regional answer to the emerging Aeginetan workshop(s).¹¹³

If the Dark Tempered pottery represents the products of a local or regional workshop, these products are not marked: few vases bear potters' marks (thirteen jars and two bowls) and they are imported from Aegina (their dates range from MH II to LH IIIA1). These marks are single or multiple short vertical incisions on the base or the handle, oval impressions on the shoulder, plastic pellets on the shoulder, or a combination of pellets and incisions (Figure 29).

Potter's marks appear also on three sherds of Grey Minyan angular bowls and consist of two or three incised lines crossing each other (Figure 30). Although the fabric of these three sherds does not include the characteristic Aeginetan

biotite particles, the possibility that the workshop that produced them may have been Aeginetan has also been raised.¹¹⁴

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Little can be said about the social organization of the site in the early part of the MH period. Architectural remains do not survive and, consequently, there is no evidence for monumental buildings that might suggest the existence of a central authority or of élite or corporate groups.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, evidence of exotic or luxury items (including Minoan imports) or elaborate rituals that might suggest social differentiation does not exist. Although the evidence does not allow the reconstruction of the depositional distribution of imported vases across the site, the *general* impression is that Aeginetan pottery was widely distributed in the settlement, which in turn may indicate equal access to these imported products and reinforce the picture of a low degree of social differentiation. Similarly, the information from the burials is inconclusive, as the only graves that can be dated to this period are just a few interments of children. A formal burial ground has not been found, which raises the issue of the location of adult burials. As mentioned earlier in the book, adults could have been buried in the countryside.¹¹⁶

More evidence about the social organization of the site survives from the middle and later parts of the period, as the settlement expanded into new areas and larger and more elaborate houses were being constructed (such as the large MH III Building A). These developments in other sites have been seen as the result of changes in kin and social relations, leading to pooling of resources by groups of families,¹¹⁷ but they also indicate population increase. A possible explanation for such a population increase is economic growth, especially seen in the intensification of trade during MH II-III.¹¹⁸ Population increase may also explain the need for additional burial space, which resulted in the establishment of the West Cemetery and the introduction of graves with multiple burials. Adults are now buried in the new burial ground established in the West Cemetery, and the only burials that continue to be placed in the settlement area are infants and children, still buried under the floors of houses or between buildings.¹¹⁹ Similar developments are seen in other MH sites, such as Argos (where burials on the summit of the Aspis cease while new cemeteries are established to the south and southeast of the lower town), Mycenae (where by the end of the MH period we have a clear expansion of the Prehistoric Cemetery and the establishment of the extramural Grave Circle B), and Thebes (where burials are installed in extramural cemeteries).¹²⁰

At Eleusis, the population growth seems to have been accompanied by increased social stratification. The majority of buildings in the MH settlement are residential units, presumably inhabited by nuclear families (Figure 10). The

one house that stands out is the apsidal Building A, which is succeeded in the Early Mycenaean period by the Megaron B Complex. The emergence of clans or corporate (kinship?) groups, each with its own collective identity,¹²¹ is also supported by the arrangement of some of the graves of the West Cemetery into distinct clusters.¹²² Beyond this, the burial evidence does not suggest any differentiation of individuals or groups based on professional status (given the finds of obsidian tools in children burials) or gender (since there are cases of graves with both male and female burials, such as ΛΠ12 and ΗΠ13).

On the other hand, it would appear that, in general, some differentiation existed according to age. Although some graves contained both children and adults (family graves?),¹²³ in general infants and children are buried separately from the adults.¹²⁴ Another criterion for differentiation may have been wealth: although on average Eleusinian graves are poorer in burial gifts than are contemporaneous graves in the Argolid or in Attica¹²⁵, some graves stand out for their richer finds and more advanced constructional features, which suggest an effort for conspicuous consumption.¹²⁶ Such is the case of the “Warrior Grave” (see next page),¹²⁷ which must have belonged to an important group, perhaps a family, as suggested by the burial of both adults and children.¹²⁸ The increasing complexity in the construction of graves, with the introduction of the elaborate Complex Built Cist graves both in the settlement and the West Cemetery,¹²⁹ may have been the result of new and more elaborate burial rituals requiring a more complex mortuary space,¹³⁰ but they also reflect differentiation according to wealth and could have been an expression of competition and status marking.¹³¹ These larger and wealthier graves reflect the more general phenomenon of the emergence of élite groups during the Shaft Grave period, for which we have indications from other sites in Attica.¹³² Wright attributes the rich burials of the MH III and LH I periods to the increasingly more powerful leaders of unstable factions across different communities,¹³³ which were structured with a family or a group of families at their core. As far as the rich Mycenaean Shaft Graves are concerned, it seems that several different families, which formed relationships, were involved.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, an Aeginetan Shaft Grave dated to the MH II period could be an example of early status differentiation and concentration on the skills of an individual.¹³⁵

RELIGION AND RITUAL

The earliest possible indications for ritual activities occur in the final phases of the period and the transition to the LH period. A pile of mudbricks with the remains of stone walls found in one of Skias’s pyres in the south slope may have been a small altar: the ashes associated with this feature came from burned bones that, assuming that they belonged to animals,¹³⁶ might have been the

remains of sacrifices. It is also possible that some of the bothroi found in MH houses could have been used in relation to domestic rituals.¹³⁷ The animal bones found in the vestibule of Grave $\Lambda\pi 4$ in the West Cemetery may be the remains of feasting, although there is no clear indication of that; if that had been the case, one might also hypothesize that the vestibule of the Complex Built Cist grave E.III.7 may have been used for funerary rites.¹³⁸ The ashes and carbonized wood covering the floor of three graves in the south slope may have been the result of funerary rites.¹³⁹ Ceramic burial gifts do not seem to have had any metaphysical or symbolic value, as less than one-third of MH graves contained any pots.¹⁴⁰

These indications for MH religious activity at Eleusis are important additions to the sparse evidence for MH cult practices in Greece, which is restricted to very few sites. At Nisakouli, in Messenia, MH vases (including a composite vessel) found with burned animal bones could represent the remains of sacrifices and feasting: such rituals could have been associated with a pile of stones (altar?) or could have been funerary rites, as a burial pithos and a pit grave were also found in the vicinity.¹⁴¹ Good-quality MH drinking vases (cups and bowls) found with burned animal bones at the early Mycenaean sanctuary of Mt. Kynortion may also indicate sacrifices and feasting.¹⁴²

Where burial customs are concerned, nearly all graves in the settlement area were used for single burials, whereas the majority of graves in the West Cemetery contained between two and ten skeletons.¹⁴³ As a rule, settlement area graves were used for infants and children, but in the West Cemetery some children were buried together with adults. The dead were placed on their right or, less often, their left side in a contracted position, except for rare cases where the body lay in an extended position on its back with the head tilted sideways, the arms crossed on the chest, and the legs open and bent.

Burial gifts are usually sparse, a phenomenon paralleled in other MH burial sites;¹⁴⁴ they consist of sherds from open fine Grey Minyan vases (presumably bowls and cups) and coarser (possibly storage) vessels. On occasion a grave may contain one or two obsidian pieces or a few animal bones. The only grave that seems to have been wealthier is the so-called “Warrior Grave”,¹⁴⁵ in which were found a blade from a bronze dagger, a small dark burnished jug, a bone band decorated with concentric circles, and fifty-one small fragments of worked boar’s tusks in a triple row, that probably would have belonged to a pendant. This general paucity of burial gifts may be explained by the fact that most graves belonged to children, but even in the West Cemetery, where there are more adult graves, it is only toward the end of the period that the number of items deposited in burials seems to increase.¹⁴⁶ A little more evidence exists from the graves that date to MH III/LH I. The alabastra in Grave E.III.7 perhaps suggest that in the Early Mycenaean period the dead were accompanied by more refined products, perhaps perfumed oil.¹⁴⁷ In

some of the infant graves, the floor was covered with a thick layer of ash and carbon; the bones had not been burned, suggesting that the fire preceded the deposition of the burial.¹⁴⁸ On the other hand, it is interesting that none of the West Cemetery graves contained traces of fire. Possible evidence for rituals outside the grave is restricted to an artificial depression on the cover slab of a grave in the summit, which may have been used for libations;¹⁴⁹ and the broken vases on top of the slabs of a grave in the south slope, which may have been the remnants of feasting.¹⁵⁰ The peribolos of Grave E.III.7 contained bones that the excavator thought belonged to animals, although there is no mention of burning. If those were, indeed, animal bones, they may have been offerings.

THE TRANSITION TO MYCENAEAN

All in all, at the end of the MH period and the dawn of the LH, Eleusis gives the impression of a community undergoing economic growth and social transformation.¹⁵¹ This is manifested in social stratification, expansion of settlement, population increase, and intensification of trade. Such phenomena are paralleled in other parts of the Aegean and lead progressively to the “Mycenaeanization” of Greece.¹⁵² Wright sees the emergence of the Late Bronze Age as the result of a shift from agro-pastoral to craft-based economy and explains the emergence of the Mycenaean polity at Eleusis (along with those of Salamis and Athens) in terms of the decline of the economic dominance of Aegina. The growth of other sites around the Saronic Gulf, such as Megali Magoula and Galatas, may also have been a side-effect of Aegina’s decline.¹⁵³ Taken as a whole, all these developments clearly indicate increasing social complexity in the late MH and the Early Mycenaean period, a development that also occurs in the Argolid, Messenia, Boeotia, and Laconia.¹⁵⁴

CHAPTER SEVEN

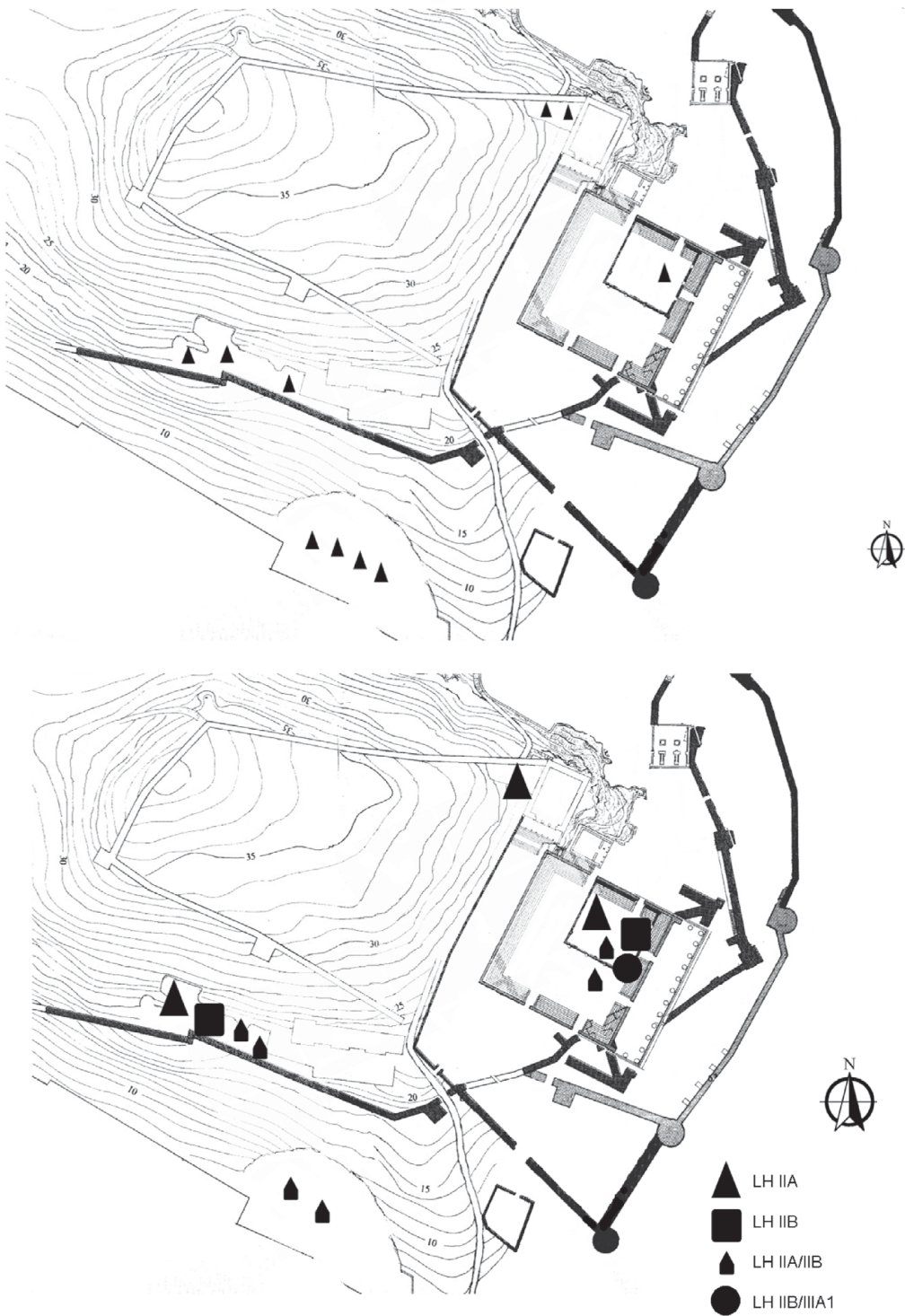
EARLY MYCENAEAN

STRATIGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

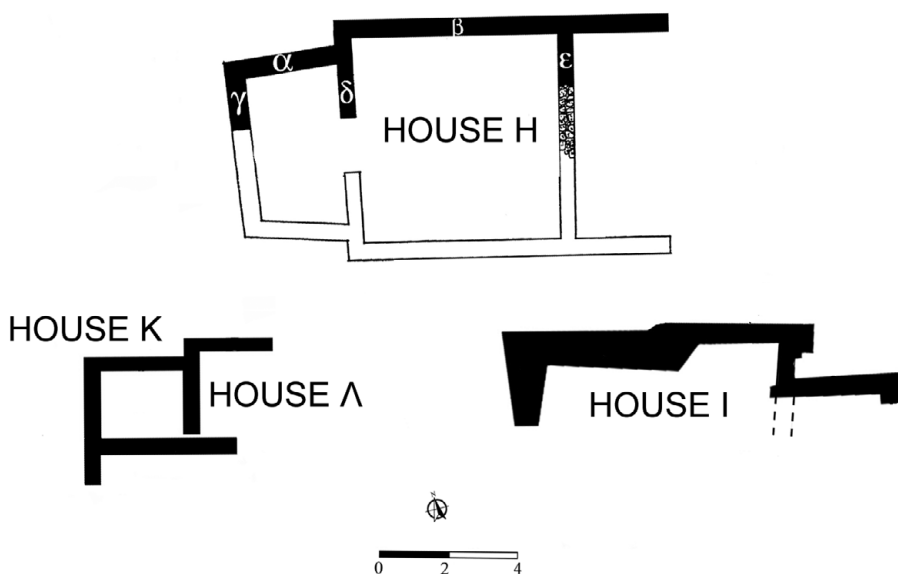
The dawn of the Mycenaean period sees a continuation of the rapid developments that had started already in the final phases of the MH period. Emerging élite groups compete for political power, economic structures become more complex, contacts with the Cyclades and Crete increase, and a rather homogeneous culture covering the central and south Greek Mainland begins to emerge.

At Eleusis, deposits dating to the Early Mycenaean period (in ceramic terms LH I to LH IIIA1)¹ have been found in the south and east slopes (Figure 31) and overlay those of the previous period, which suggests that at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age the settlement continued to occupy the same general area. The transition seems to have been smooth, as nowhere at the site have destruction levels been found that could be dated to this transition. The earlier deposits with material from this period include a mixture of MH III and LH I pottery (Figure 31, top),² but not any “Mycenaean-style” sherds, which seem to be introduced at an advanced stage of LH I (“LH I” here includes the phase with all the ceramic styles that appear in the beginning of the Mycenaean period, not only the “Mycenaean-style” pottery).

The architectural remains of the early part of the LH are sparse. The preserved houses (all in the south slope) are rectangular in plan (Figure 32). House H, which is the best-preserved structure of the period, has a central room



31. MH III-LH I (top) and LH II-III A1 (bottom) deposits

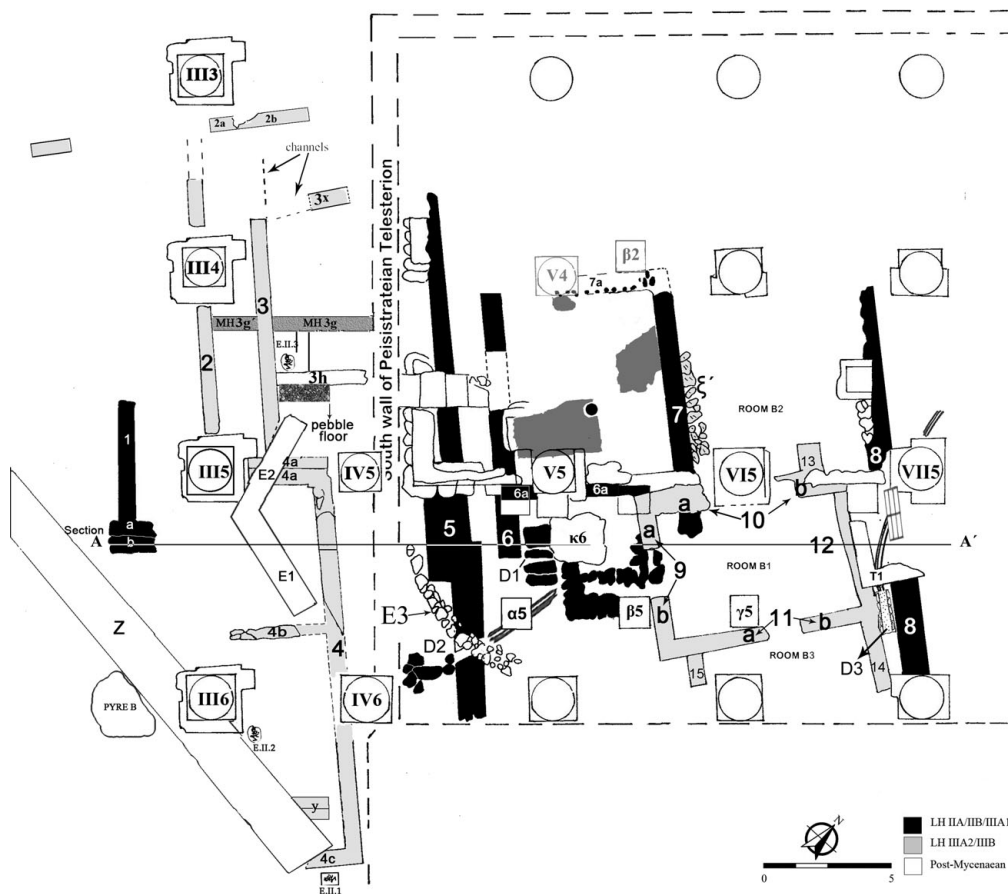


32. Early Mycenaean houses.

(5.40 m long) flanked by an anteroom in the east and a back room in the west (each 2.40 m long); because the south part of the house has been destroyed, its width cannot be estimated. A second house (House K) is partially preserved (only one square room survives, with a side of 2.50 m.) but is dated by the excavators to LH I, while House I, immediately to the east of House H, is dated to LH IIA. On the summit (NE corner of hilltop), at least one LH I house had been built, on top of which three LH IIA rooms were constructed.³ In the east slope, Building A may have continued in LH I.

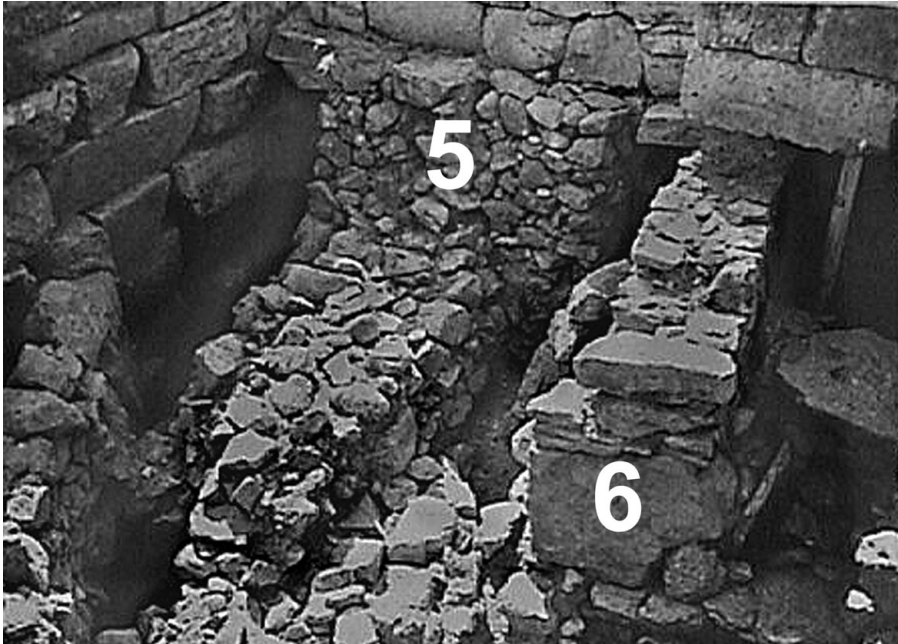
A few LH IIA sherds found under the Archaic Terrace Wall outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion suggest that the settlement progressively began to expand in a previously unoccupied area (Figure 31 bottom). Further expansion is noted in LH IIB, as a flurry of building activity occurs in the east and south slopes. The most notable new construction takes place on the east slope, where Megaron B is constructed, and on the south slope, where House A is built on top of the earlier House K. Megaron B continues to be used in LH IIIA1, at a time when the settlement continues to expand. Although other LH IIIA1 buildings are not recorded, LH IIIA1 material has been found in mixed deposits outside the Peisistrateian Telesterion and on the hilltop.

The construction techniques of all these buildings preserve certain common features. Foundation walls have one to three courses of medium-sized stones placed in two rows, with the empty space in-between filled with smaller stones and clay; in few cases, large oblong stones are placed in rows perpendicularly to the line of the wall. The earliest example of an anta from the site dates to this period: it is made of six courses of square blocks at the end of one of



33. Composite plan of the area of the Peisistrateian Telesterion with the Mycenaean walls (based on an unpublished plan by I. Travlos, Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 9, Subfolder 1). The line A-A' shows the section in Figure 43.

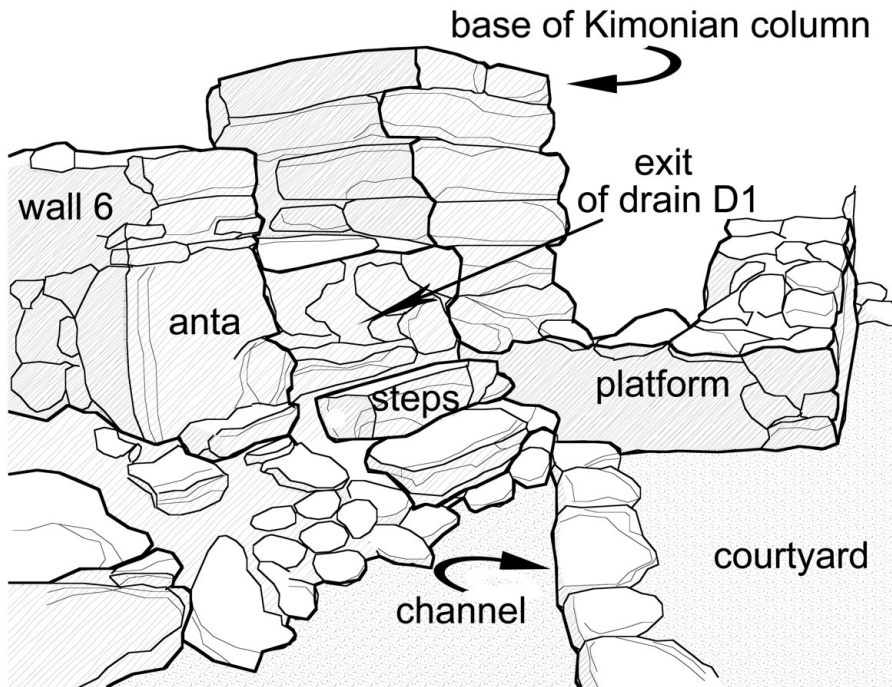
the long walls of House H. Superstructures are made with mudbricks, several fragments of which have been found scattered around tumbled walls; judging from the mudbricks found on the floor of House H, they included a substantial amount of straw and seem to have measured $0.25 \times 0.14 \times 0.008$ m. Remains of yellowish plaster found attached to pieces of mudbricks suggest that the interior faces of the walls were covered. Floors were made of packed earth and pebbles and covered with a layer of yellowish plaster of the same type as the one that covered the walls. Two piles of stones in the back room of House H may have been used as benches. Access to the interior of these houses would have been provided by doorways placed on their short sides, but these have not been preserved; an interior door is marked by an opening in the middle of the crosswall of House H, whose threshold is formed by a layer of small stones fixed in place by packed earth and covered with clay.



34. The east anta of Wall 6 and the thickened part of Wall 5 from the southeast. Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives (A/A 1199).

THE ARCHITECTURE OF MEGARON B

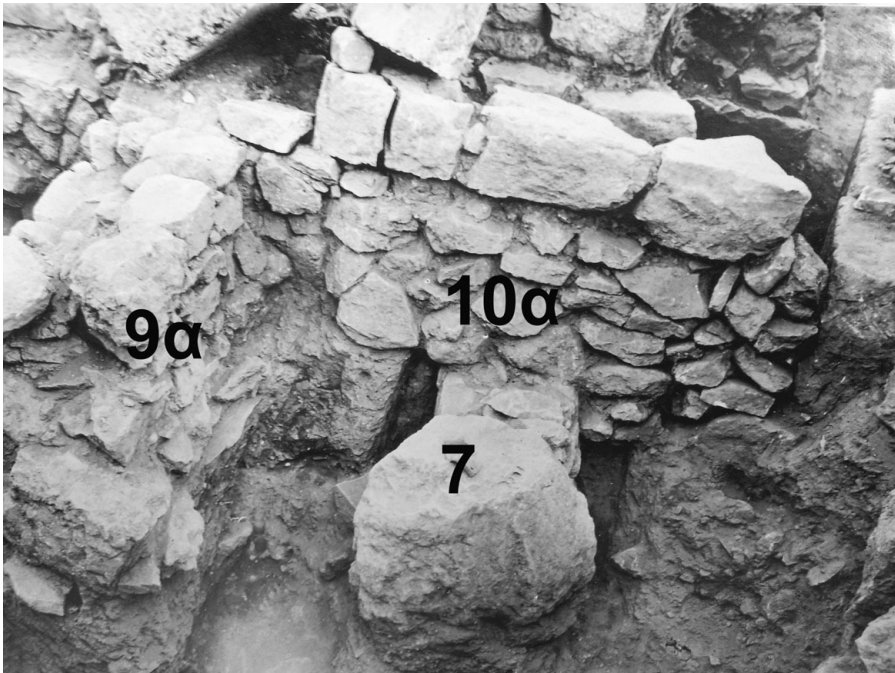
The best-known building of the period is undoubtedly Megaron B. It is a rectangular building with a large main room and a vestibule, measuring approximately 10.40×6.50 m (Figure 33).⁴ The two long walls, Wall 6 and Wall 7, are 0.60–0.65 m wide and constructed with three courses of large stones placed in clay mortar, with the core filled with smaller stones; the southeast corner of Wall 7 is made with flat oblong stones spanning its entire width; smaller stones, sherds, and wood were wedged in the spaces between and under the stones to strengthen the wall. The faces of both walls were covered with a thick layer of plaster. The east ends of both walls end in antae: that of Wall 6 (Figure 35) is 0.95 m thick and carefully made of large flat stones placed in horizontal courses and supported by a large block of black Eleusinian stone (marked as 6 in Figure 34), the face of which has been artificially smoothed; the block is almost rectangular, but one of its corners has been chiseled away, giving it an irregular polygonal outline. The anta of Wall 7 is constructed in a similar manner as the anta of Wall 6, with a large stone supporting layers of smaller ones, except that the ending block of this anta has a rounded irregular section (Figure 36); at some point in its life Wall 7 was supported by a shorter wall attached to its north façade (Wall ξ in Figure 33).



35. Three-dimensional reconstruction of the anta of Wall 6, the steps, drain D1, and the platform from the south (based on an unpublished plan by I. Travlos, Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 9, Subfolder 1).

Of the short walls of the building only Wall 6a, which originally connected Walls 6 and 7, is partially preserved (Figure 33). This wall separates the main (west) room of the building from the vestibule (east). Although it was seriously damaged by the construction of the foundation of the Roman column V5, it still preserves an opening approximately 1.30 m wide, which served as the entrance from the vestibule to the main room (Figure 39). Three flat stones, found in situ next to the bottom course of Wall 6a, served as the base of the threshold. The north end of Wall 6a forms an anta. The back wall of the room (Wall 7a) was destroyed by the Peisistrateian column β 2 and the Roman column V4, but its location is marked by its foundation trench to the east side of the Peisistrateian column β 2 and also three of its stones, which survive inside the foundation trench. These stones are oblong and placed perpendicularly to the direction of the wall, in a construction manner similar to that of the northwest part of Wall 7. The joint between Walls 7 and 7a is visible under the foundation of the Roman Telesterion.⁵

Three patches of the floor survive (α , β , γ in Figure 39), made of a layer of packed earth, pebbles, and lime. A small patch of an earlier floor, directly beneath the main one, was found near Wall 6. The bulk of the pottery found on the later floor dates to LH IIA/IIB, although some LH IIIA1/III A2 and



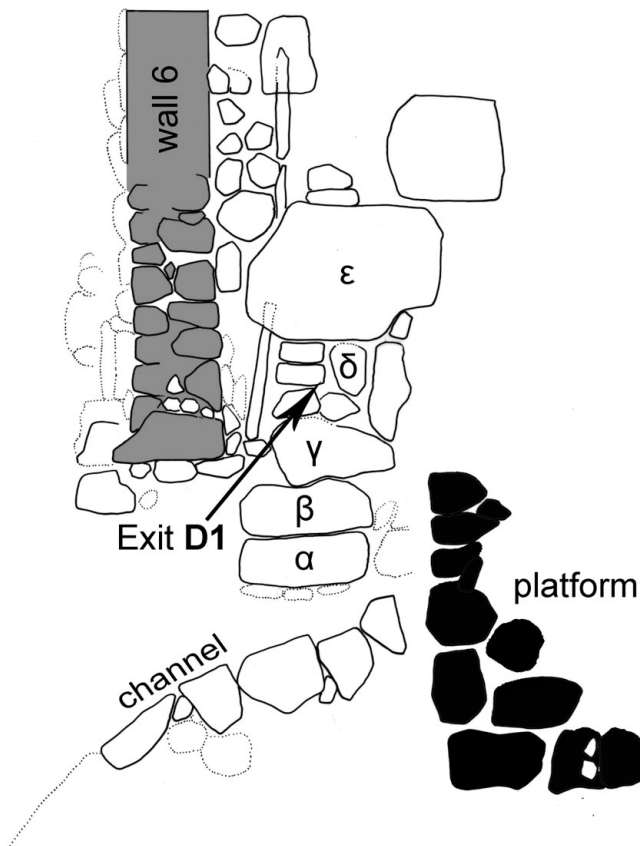
36. Anta of Wall 7 and anta of Wall 9a from the east (Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1121).

one LH IIIC sherd are also mixed in this locus; the pottery found under the floor is mostly LH IIB, with MH and LH IIIA_{1/2} admixtures.

The roof was supported by two columns, the base of one of which was at a distance of 2.20 m to the north of Wall 6a (Figure 41);⁶ a second must have been placed approximately 2 m to the northwest of the first one, but that part of the interior of the room has been destroyed by later construction. The waters from the interior of the main room exited via a drain (D1), which existed between the anta of Wall 6 and the platform. There is no indication of a hearth in the interior of this room, although a large part of the floor is missing.

In front of the main room was a vestibule, defined by Wall 6a and the east ends of Walls 5 and 7. Its floor, made of pebbles and lime, is 0.05–0.08 m thick and lay approximately 0.30 m lower than the floor of the main room, suggesting that one or two steps were used to facilitate access into the interior of the main room. The depth of the vestibule, measured from the east face of Wall 6a to the anta of Wall 7, is 2 m.

Access to the vestibule, and from there to the interior of the building, was provided by two flights of steps attached to the interior of the north and the south walls (Walls 6 and 7). The south flight of steps is well preserved (Figures 37, 38); it consists of four steps, the highest of which measured 1×0.76×0.20 m



37. Plan of the east part of Wall 6 with the steps (α-ε), the platform (solid black), Wall 6 (grey) and the exit of Drain D1 (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2). Pencil drawing by Travlos, inked by Vivian Stasi; digitized by the author.

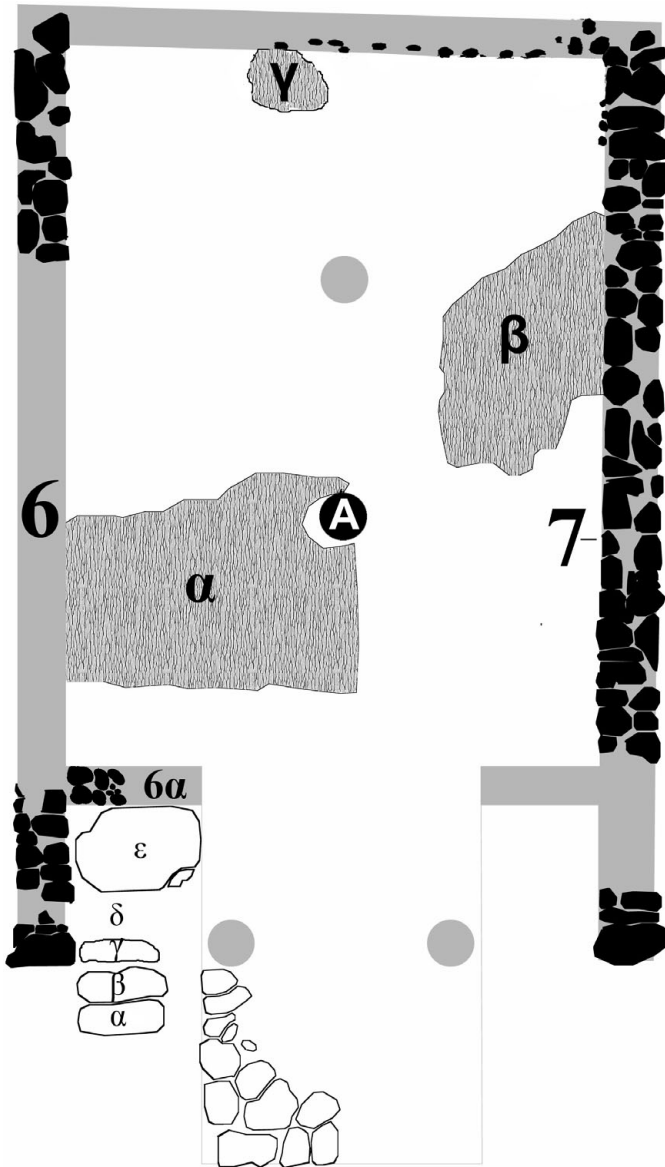
and served as the landing to the vestibule in front of the main room. The north flight of steps was dismantled when the later Room B1 was added, at which time the slabs of the steps were incorporated into Wall 9a (Figure 33).⁷

Between the two flights of steps in front of the vestibule is a raised platform (Figure 33). It is only partially preserved, to a height of approximately 1.30–1.40 m above the floor of the courtyard. It is a Π-shaped structure formed by three walls: the south wall is 0.65 m thick and 2.50 m long, the north wall is 0.60 m thick and 2.46 m long, and the east wall, perpendicular to the slope of the hill, is 1.60 m thick and 2.80 m long. All three walls are made of medium-sized stones forming irregular courses; all three external faces of the platform had been smoothed and covered with a thick layer of plaster. The interior space formed by these walls was filled with soil and stones. The pottery from the loci associated with the walls of the platform is predominantly LH IIB/IIIA1, but locus 3, which includes the sherds wedged between the stones of the walls, includes also several LH IIIA1/IIIA2 sherds.



38. The steps in front of Megaron B from the southeast and the southeast part of the platform. Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archives A/A 1180.

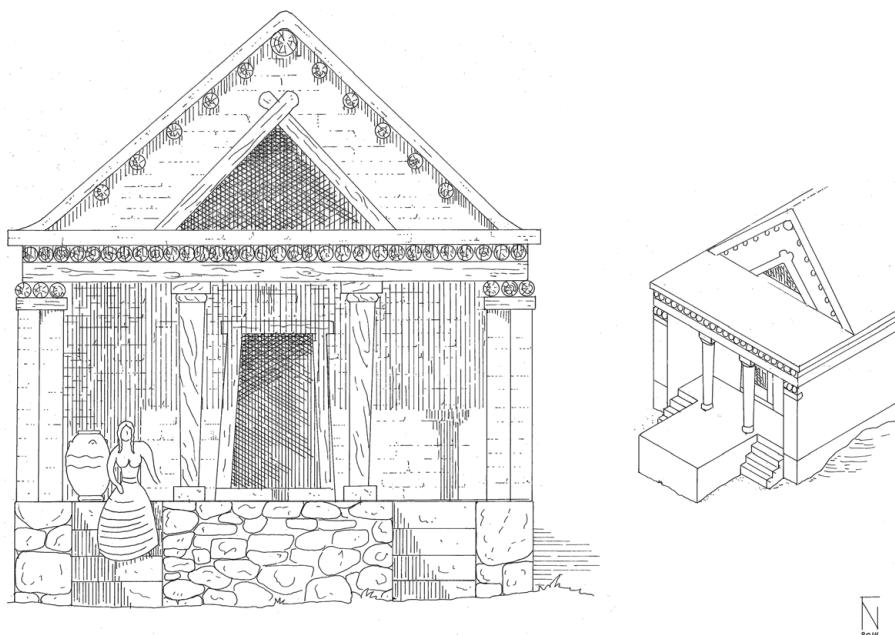
A drain under the floor of Megaron B (Drain D1) exited between the south flight of steps (Figure 37). In front of the steps, the exit of Drain D1, and the south wall of the platform, a channel runs toward the south, defined by a row of small and medium-sized stones. This channel collected the waters from Drain D1, as well as those from the interior of Megaron B and the platform. It flows under the Peisistrateian column α5 (Figure 33) and feeds into another built drain (D2), which exits under Wall 5 of the peribolos. Inside the lower part of Drain D2 was found a group of LH IIB/IIIA1 sherds mixed with ashes and animal bones and sealed by a layer of stones. The bones, belonging to non-meaty parts of at least three pigs, are all burned – in fact, they are calcined through to the medullary cavity, which suggests that they had been left for several hours in a fire burning at high temperatures. As detailed elsewhere, the evidence suggests that these bones are the remnants of burned animal sacrifices and not remnants of meals disposed in the fire.⁸ The spatial proximity of the bones and associated pottery to Megaron B is unquestionable, and it is also fairly clear that this material was carried by the waters that flowed inside the drain from a higher point, which could only have been the top of the channel that feeds into the drain. As there is no evidence for a hearth in the interior of Megaron B, the only place in the entire Megaron B complex where these bones could have been burned is the platform. It seems, therefore, that the



39. Plan of megaron B showing the preserved parts of the floor. Pencil drawing by I. Travlos (Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 1). N.B. The original pencil drawing was one of Travlos' drafts and does not show all the stones of walls 6 and 6a.

bones were washed off the platform and into the drain. The importance of this find for the function of Megaron B is discussed in the next section.

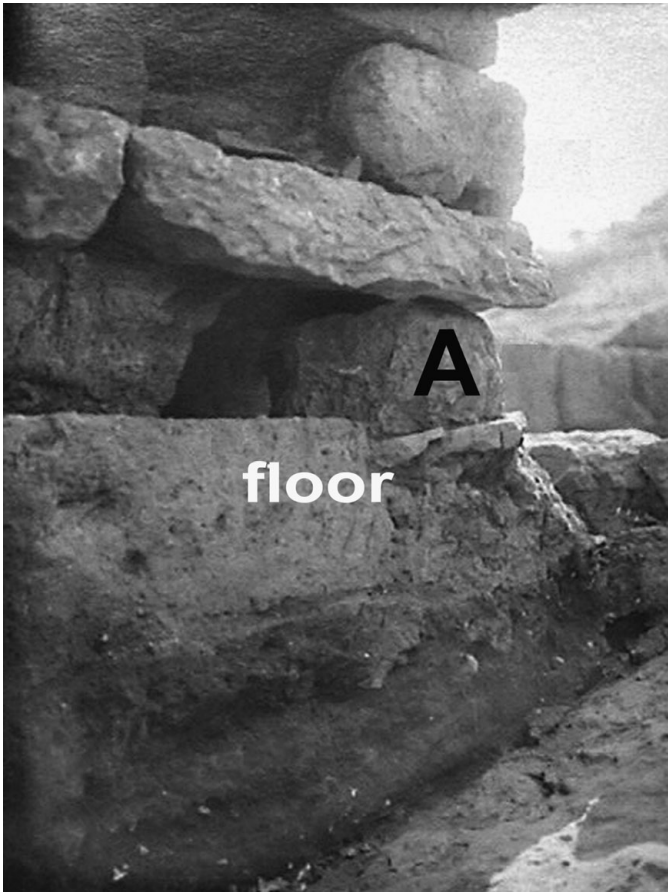
Megaron B and its platform were surrounded by four walls forming a rectangular enclosure. Parts of this peribolos have been heavily damaged by the construction of the later Telesteria, but its original dimensions would have been approximately 19 m east-west by 16 m north-south. Of the four walls



40. Reconstruction of the façade of Megaron B. Pencil drawing by I. Travlos, inked by Yannis Nakas.

only parts of the two walls running east-west survive (Figure 33, Walls 5 and 8): they are preserved to a height of 1.50–1.70 m and are 0.65–0.84 m wide. They are built with six to eight courses of medium-sized stones placed in clay, with the spaces in-between filled with smaller stones. The three lowest courses of Wall 5 are 0.17–0.20 m narrower than the socle, forming an indentation at the level of the paved road that is built against the exterior south side of the wall. The pottery found under the foundation and wedged between the stones of walls 5 and 8 is predominantly LH IIA–B. At a distance of 5.35 m from the east end of the wall for a length of 4.30 m, Wall 5 almost triples in width, to 1.80 m (Figure 34). The thickened part would originally have been rectangular, as one of its original blocks, 0.40 m wide, seems to have been pushed inward. The external side of the thickened part lies on a thin (7 cm) fill, which sits on the bedrock. The foundation is made of five large Eleusinian stones, the largest of which measures 0.75×0.70 m. Although the thickened part of Wall 5 is understood by Mylonas to be a small “tower,” it also may have provided extra support to the wall, as at that spot the bedrock falls sharply.

Access to the enclosed area was provided by a gate, placed approximately in the middle of Wall 8; only part of this gate survives on the southeast side of the Roman Column VII5 (Figure 33). It is about 4.5 m wide and preserves a flight of three steps, each made of flat stones, 0.15–0.19 m thick and 0.32 m



41. The floor of Megaron B with the base of its column (A) from the east (Kourouniotes 1931–1932, fig. 2).

wide.⁹ A paved road leading to this point from the north ends in front of this gate. This enclosed area was a paved courtyard, whose paved floor is defined by Wall 5 in the south and Wall 8 in the north.

An interesting find came to light to the north of Wall 6: a small fragment of painted plaster representing a human eye looking toward the right (Figure 42). The fresco dates to the Early Mycenaean period and was found in front of the north face of Wall 6 in the space between the wall and the third Peisistrateian column κ6 (Figure 33) at a depth of 1.50 m from the top surface of the curved Geometric Wall E3.¹⁰

The pottery found under the foundations and wedged between the stones of the walls of Megaron B, the platform, and the peribolos dates them to LH IIB, but pottery from higher up indicates that the building continued to be used in LH IIIA1/IIIA2 and through LH IIIB (Figure 43).

THE FUNCTION OF MEGARON B

The early excavators, Konstantinos Kourouniotes and George Mylonas, had proposed that Megaron B had been an early temple of Demeter and suggested that the Eleusinian Mysteries originated in the Late Bronze Age.¹¹ Ioannis Travlos refined this theory by proposing that Megaron B was in fact the residence of the Eumolpids, one of the leading families of Eleusis, which used Megaron B continuously from the Mycenaean to the Early Iron Age.¹² According to Travlos, when the residence of this family moved to the Sacred House sometime in the eighth century, Megaron B remained in use solely as a cult building. Along similar lines, Alexandros Mazarakis-Ainian suggests that Megaron B may have been the residence of the leading family of a powerful clan (a “genos”) of the Mycenaean period, but that the building was abandoned at the end of the Bronze Age until descendants of that family re-inhabited it in the Early Iron Age.¹³

The residential function of Megaron B is suggested by the finds from its interior, which consist of cooking, storage, and drinking pots; the general architectural similarities with residential units at other Mycenaean sites confirms this function.¹⁴ The question is whether it was only a residential building or if it also had other specialized functions.

Kourouniotes and Mylonas had two main arguments for a religious use of Megaron B. The first concerned the continuity of location, as the later Telesteria were built on top of Megaron B. The second was that the building possessed two special architectural features that set it apart from standard residential Mycenaean architecture: an enclosure wall that ensured the privacy of the rituals that took place inside the complex; and a platform that, according to Mylonas, supported an altar. This view was challenged in 1981 by Pascal Darcque, who rejected Mylonas’s arguments and the religious use of Megaron B.¹⁵ The foundation of Darcque’s archaeological arguments is that the evidence does not really support the notion of “special” architectural features; in the absence of such features, there would be no basis for accepting a religious function for the building. More specifically, Darcque doubts both that a peribolos actually existed, and that the platform was a simple retaining structure.

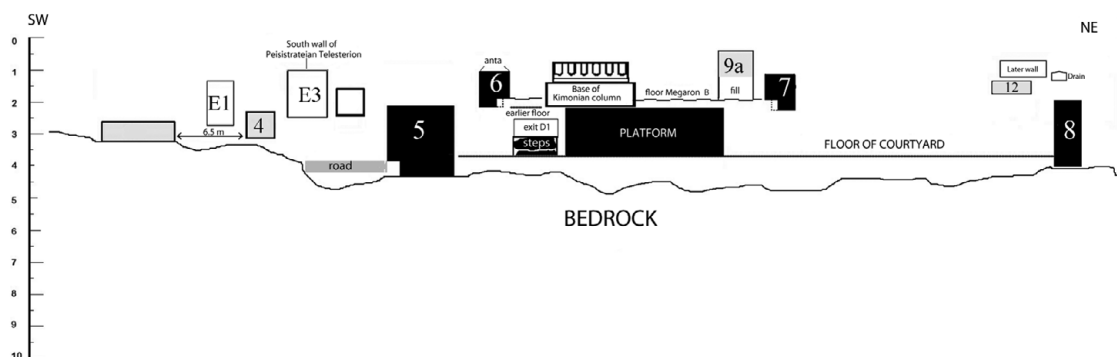
Doubts about the existence of the peribolos are largely based on a discrepancy between two architectural plans of the Complex, which provide different dates for walls 5 and 8. The first of these two plans was included in the report that appeared in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* of 1930–1931,¹⁶ in which walls 3 and 3x are shown as belonging to the same period and to the same architectural complex as Wall 5. The second plan, which appeared in the 1933 volume of the *American Journal of Archaeology*,¹⁷ shows wall 5 associated not with walls 3 and 3x, but with Wall 8; it is this second interpretation that served as the basis for the excavators’ association of walls 5 and 8 and, consequently, for the



42. Fragments of painted plaster found on July 20, 1932, next to Wall 6.

existence of a peribolos wall. On the basis of this discrepancy, Darcque suggests that the excavators intentionally altered the second plan so that the existence of a peribolos could be supported.¹⁸

Darcque's article has been very influential in rejecting any notion of religious function for Megaron B, and as a result, Eleusis is usually not included in discussions of Mycenaean cult centers.¹⁹ The recent detailed analysis of the finds from Megaron B and of the unpublished excavation records has, however, produced new architectural and ceramic evidence that make necessary a reexamination of the issue.²⁰ The architectural evidence shows that both walls 5 and 8 are exterior walls with the same orientation, foundation depth, and construction techniques (which are different from Wall 3); that these two walls clearly define the north and south ends of the same paved courtyard; and that Wall 8 preserves part of a gate that led to the interior of the courtyard. The ceramic evidence has confirmed that the pottery found



43. Section of the Megaron B and the walls to the south of the Peisistrateian Telesterion (cf. Figure 33).

under the foundation and wedged between the stones of both walls is predominantly LH IIB/IIIA₁, suggesting that these two walls were contemporaneous, whereas walls 3 and 3x (which are associated by Darcque with Wall 5) date to LH IIIA₂/IIIB₁ and could not, therefore, have belonged to the same structure.

As for the discrepancy in the published plans, it turns out that each plan was prepared during different stages of the excavation process. Walls 3, 3x, and 5 were first excavated in 1930 by Threpsiades, whose preliminary impression as the excavation of that year progressed was that these walls may have belonged to the same building. The plan accompanying the report for the 1930 excavation appeared in the *ArchDelt* of 1930–1931, which was published with a two-year delay in 1933. Then, following the 1932 excavation season, which was supervised by Mylonas, it became clear that the association of walls 3 and 3x with Wall 5 could not be sustained because the pottery from Wall 3 was of later period than the pottery associated with Wall 5. This led Mylonas to reverse Threpsiades's earlier chronological sequence, as he explicitly writes in his Notebook,²¹ and it is this updated plan that is included in the *AJA* article, submitted after the 1932 excavation season. Although both the *ArchDelt* and the *AJA* articles have a publication date of 1933, it is important to remember that the *AJA* report was prepared and submitted *after* the *ArchDelt* report. The later interpretation (presented in the *AJA* article) is based on the results of the latest analysis and therefore reflects the actual relationship of these walls. Based on this, the existence of the platform and the peribolos is certain, which in turn shows that Megaron B did possess special architectural features that suggest a function other than residential.²²

The second issue, that of the use of the platform, has been settled by the discovery of burned animal bones that are likely to represent remains of burned sacrifices held on the platform.²³ The platform clearly serves as an “attention-focussing” feature, one of the criteria proposed by Renfrew and Pilafidis for the identification of sanctuaries.²⁴ A second criterion, the “Presence of the Transcendental and its Symbolic Focus,” is attested by the large numbers of figurines found dispersed around the courtyard.²⁵ The third criterion, “Participation and Offering,” is reflected in the remains of the burned pig sacrifice found in drain D2,²⁶ which most likely originated in the platform.

Confirming the presence of these two special architectural features is an important piece in the puzzle of the function of the Complex. On the strength of this combined evidence, the reasonable conclusion is that, although the primary function of Megaron B was residential, it was also used for religious rituals during the Early Mycenaean period. Having said this, it is important to point out that the available evidence is sparse and several types of objects usually connected to Mycenaean sanctuaries (e.g., cultic figures, metal offerings, etc.)

are absent. There are two possible explanations for this: (a) that this evidence has been obliterated by the thousands of years of building activity that followed; and/or (b) that at the time when Megaron B was erected, Mycenaean religious practices had not reached a degree of formalization that would have necessitated their separation from private rituals. The first explanation may be supported by the numerous broken Mycenaean figurines reported from the area of Megaron B; although later in date, they do show that the absence of possible cult-related objects is not as complete as it seems.²⁷ The second explanation may be supported by the fact that Mycenaean religious architecture grew out of local domestic architecture and at this stage in its development residential buildings were used as ad hoc solutions to the needs of local cults.²⁸ In the Prepalatial period, cultic equipment had not been standardized yet, as shown by evidence at other Early Mycenaean shrines, such as Aghios Konstantinos or Mt. Kynortion. This is a period in which the “sanctuary” has not developed yet as an entity distinct from domestic religious space. In conclusion, the evidence suggests that in the Early Mycenaean period Megaron B had both a residential and a cultic function.

BURIALS

A number of new graves are established during this period in both the West Cemetery and the area of the settlement. In the West Cemetery, eight new Complex Built Cist Graves (Figure 13) are installed for the first time in LH IIA and five in LH IIB, all used for multiple burials.²⁹ In the area of the settlement, nine new cist graves are installed: most are placed in exterior spaces between houses, except for two that are cut into the floors of houses and three that are placed on top of abandoned houses.³⁰ Whereas in the West Cemetery all the new graves are of the Complex Cist type and, as a rule, are used for multiple burials, most new graves in the settlement are rectangular or trapezoidal cists containing only an infant or a child. Their walls are made with dry-stone or of mudbricks and the openings are covered with one or more slabs. Burial gifts are usually sparse.

In addition to these cist graves, burials in storage jars have been found in the settlement area: two jars contained the remains of infants, one of which was placed in a thick layer of ash; the other was filled with ash and small stones and contained small fragments of human bones (without any signs of burning).

Finally, a number of burials are placed in shallow pits. The shape of the pits ranges from roughly square to almost circular; in one case the edge of the pit is defined by a row of small stones. These pit graves contain an adult or a child placed either directly on the bedrock or on a thin layer either pebbles or a mixture of sand and pebbles; adults are placed on their right side with the legs bent, whereas children are placed on their backs. Burial gifts are just

a few sherds. There is only one case of a multiple burial from the settlement area, a pit containing three adults: the dead lie on their right sides on a layer of pebbles, with their heads toward the east and their legs bent.³¹ They have been placed so closely to each other that it was not possible for the excavators to distinguish the position of the arms, except for one, whose right arm extended along the body and left arm was bent at the elbow and placed on the belly.

These pit graves seem to have been in use through LH IIB/LH IIIA₁, but after that there are very few graves installed in the settlement area.³² By contrast, in the West Cemetery, as mentioned earlier, during this period there is a surge in the number of burials, which contrasts with the declining number of burials in the settlement area. It is interesting that after MH III, pit graves are not used in the West Cemetery, but continue to be used sporadically in the settlement until LH IIIC Early.

One grave in the settlement area stands out from the rest – E.III.7.³³ On the basis of the pottery found inside it, it seems that the grave was used from MH III/LH IA through LH IIB, which would be consistent with the numerous burials and the repair/construction encasement walls. This grave is unique for Eleusis in that it remained in use for a very long time, possibly three or four centuries, even at a time when the West Cemetery expanded and burials in the settlement area went out of fashion. Whether there is a connection between the apparent end of use of this grave after LH IIB/IIIA₁ and the construction of the Extension B₁/B₂/B₃ in Megaron B³⁴ cannot be established from present evidence, but the location of this tomb so close to Megaron B has serious implications for the social organization of the site.³⁵

Burial gifts are sparse in the LH graves and consist of one or two vases (kylikes, cups, goblets, small jars, or alabastra). Glass beads were found in S.II.2 (with two seashells), and H.I. E.III.8 contained a goblet placed by the child's face, as well as a squat jug, a feeding bottle, a monochrome askos, and a cup by the child's feet.

Overall, the funerary architecture of Eleusis presents a wide variety of grave forms. Although the "standard" Peloponnesian types of graves (shaft graves, tholos tombs) do not appear to have been in use, the high diversity in funerary forms observed at Eleusis agrees with the more general trend in LH I/IIA Attica for the creation of new grave types for multiple burials.

POTTERY

The pottery of the Early Mycenaean period includes about 180 sherds and ten vases belonging to MH wares that continue into the early part of the Late Bronze Age; additionally, there are also fifteen sherds of the lustrous D-o-L decoration known as the "Mycenaean style" (Figure 44).

PATTERN-PAINTED	MONOCHROME SURFACE	UNPAINTED
MATT-PAINTED	RED OR BLACK SLIPPED, UNBURNISHED	PLAIN
Monochrome	RED SLIPPED, BURNISHED	
Polychrome	Aeginetan	
LUSTROUS DECORATED	Cycladic	
L-o-D	GREY MINYAN	
D-o-L	YELLOW MINYAN	

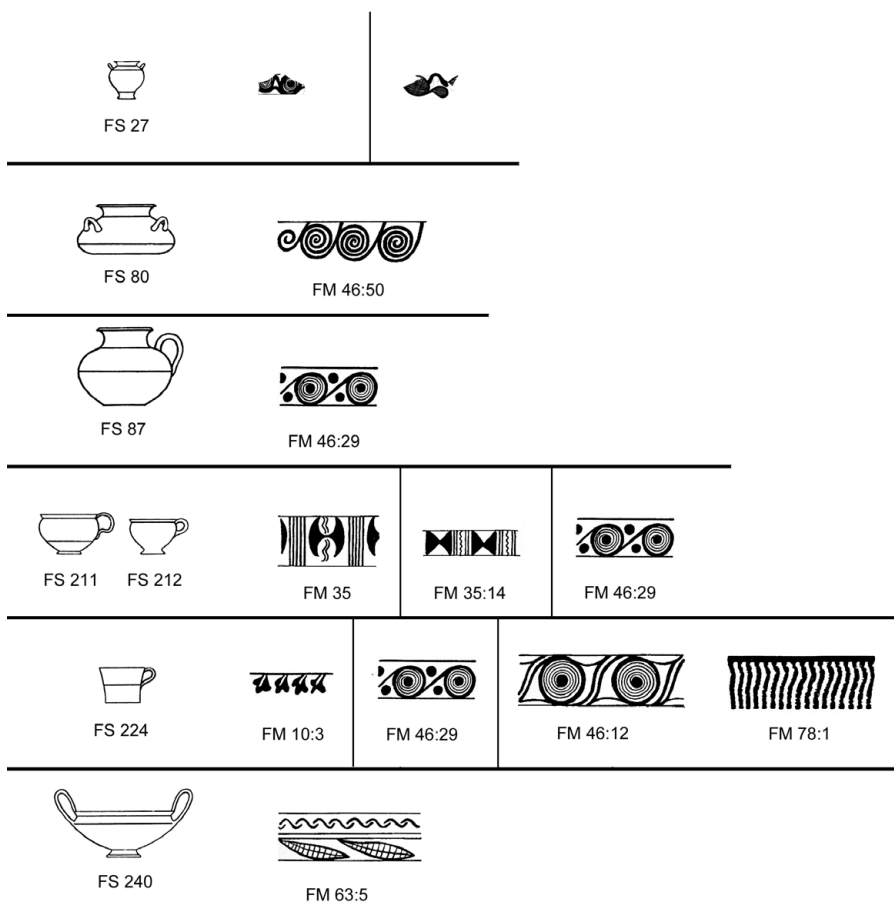
44. Classification of Late Helladic I pottery (after Cosmopoulos 2014a, table 8).

Late Helladic I

Matt-painted pots continue to be popular. *Monochrome Matt-painted* pots include rounded cups with everted rims, straight-sided cups, jugs, jars with a distinct neck (type 1), and amphoroid jars. The decoration now becomes more standardized than in MH III, with a wide range of mostly linear (spirals, rows of chevrons, festoons, framed wavy bands or zigzag lines, concentric circles) and a few naturalistic (birds, ivy leaves, figure-eight) motifs in brown or dark-grey paint. Framed wavy and zigzag lines and figure-eight motifs are particularly common. About half of the monochrome Matt-painted pots are imported from the Argolid, one-third from Aegina, and the rest appear to have been local products, or imported from the wider area of Attica/Boeotia. *Polychrome Matt-painted* pots are not common and include deep bowls or kraters (most of which are Aeginetan), jars with a clearly articulated neck (Mainland variety), and one angular cup, also of the Mainland variety. The decoration of the Aeginetan deep bowls or kraters is very standardized and repetitive; Mainland Polychrome Matt-painted deep bowls or kraters, on the other hand, employ a variety of motifs, although the Eleusinian examples are mainly characterized by triple bichrome bands or framed wavy lines. The commonest motifs are parallel straight or wavy bands in red and black paint and curvilinear patterns of parallel circles or broad loops. Jars are usually decorated with vertical panels of straight and wavy bands, which divide the surface of the vessel in clearly defined zones.

Grey Minyan rounded bowls continue from the MH, but a new range of smaller shapes is introduced. These include Vapheio cups, rounded cups with everted rims, small jars, and juglets. *Dark Burnished* pots do not seem to continue in LH I. *Yellow Minyan* pottery is rare. It includes angular cups (both the deeper, “goblet”-type and the smaller angular type) and Vapheio cups. A few *Red Slipped and Burnished* pieces may be LH I, but none are stratified, and it is impossible to separate them from MH pots of the same type.

Lustrous Decorated pottery is rare. Only one deep bowl is decorated in the lustrous light-on-dark style, with white running spirals and a white band against a dark-slipped background. Dark-on-light lustrous decorated pottery (the Mycenaean style) seems to appear at an advanced stage of the period, but



45. LH I Mycenaean-style shapes and motifs.

is still undeveloped. Vases have fine fabrics, but in general they are crudely made, with uneven profiles, unslipped, and the interiors of open vases are often untreated. Decoration is also crudely executed: lines and bands are not straight, spiral coils overlap each other, rim bands drip. On the large pots, the main decoration is placed in a horizontal zone defined by the bottom of the exterior rim band (which in most cases stops at the bottom of the neck) and the widest part of the vase; in closed vessels this zone includes the handles. The middle and lower parts of the body are banded. The paint ranges from highly lustrous black or reddish brown to semilustrous red or black; none of these pieces have added white paint, a feature common in the Peloponnese during this period.

A unique angular bowl offers important evidence for the date of introduction of the Mycenaean style at Eleusis: the motifs with which it is decorated derive from the MH repertoire, but are executed in the lustrous paint characteristic



46. Selection of Early Mycenaean pottery.

of LH I Mycenaean vases (Figure 46: bottom row, second from left). The bowl was found with sherds from other vases decorated in the standard MH III Matt-painted tradition. This may indicate a date early in LH I for this assemblage and suggest that the full Mycenaean style was introduced at a slightly later stage – sometime after the beginning of LH I. As far as the place of origin of this style is concerned, this could have been Laconia, Messenia, or the Argolid. What we know with certainty is that it was heavily influenced by LM IA pottery, possibly from Kythera.

Besides the Early Mycenaean wares just described, there are also some unburnished Red or Black Slipped pots (bridge-spouted bowls and deep bowls or kraters). Although some of these may have originated in the wider area of Eleusis and Attica, the majority are Aeginetan. Very common are unpainted pots in fairly fine or fairly coarse fabrics: these include stemmed angular bowls (“goblets”) imitating Grey Minyan ware, stemmed bowls with bridge spouts, Vapheio cups, and stemmed cups.

When one compares the range of shapes used in the settlement to that used in the cemetery, it turns out that certain types of pottery are used in both: Matt-painted jugs and straight-sided cups in the so-called Mainland Paneled style, Grey Minyan Vapheio cups, stemmed rounded cups, small jars, and juglets, and Mycenaean-style alabastra (FS 80) and squat jugs (FS 87).

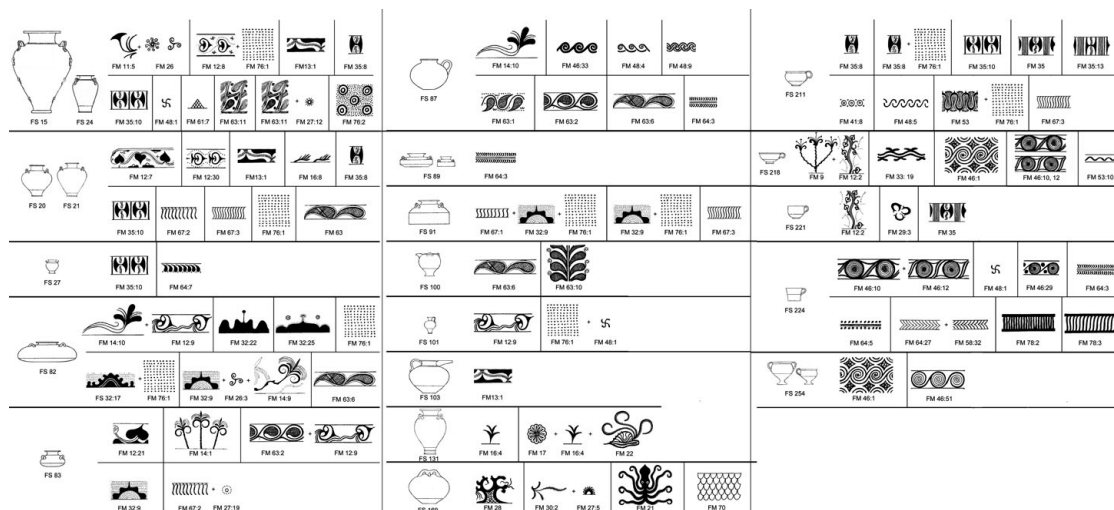
In general, from the identified MH III/LH I pottery, more than half appears to have been Aeginetan: this includes monochrome Matt-painted, but also a number of Red Slipped and Burnished tableware pots with gold mica and

handmade vases with Aeginetan potter's marks. The Aeginetan imports remain strong in LH I and possibly LH II; although it is impossible to demonstrate this stratigraphically, it agrees with the picture that we have from the Argo-Saronic Gulf in the Early Mycenaean period.³⁶ Dark Tempered Matt-painted pots also remain popular, suggesting continued ties with west Attica/Boeotia. By contrast, the small numbers of Mycenaean-style pots agrees with the low frequency of this style in Attica,³⁷ although proportionately the number of Mycenaean-style vases appears to be higher at Eleusis than in other Attic sites; this is based on the count of sherds, but because of the fragmentary nature of the material, detailed statistical data cannot be extracted. Minoan imports have not been identified. This picture of a strong Aeginetan presence fits quite well with what we know about the ceramic developments in south Central Greece (Attica and Boeotia), but also Aegina and the northeastern Peloponnese.

On the other hand, some ceramic features seem to be particular to Eleusis, such as the use of the hatched loop motif on the jar shown in [Figure 46](#) (middle row, left) and the use of the leaf-like motif on the angular bowl shown in [Figure 46](#) (bottom row, left); and the decoration of a traditional MH shape, such as the angular bowl, with standard Matt-painted motifs drawn in lustrous paint, such as the multiple zigzag on the angular cup shown in [Figure 46](#) (bottom row, second from left).

Late Helladic IIA

In total, about 120 pieces can be dated to LH IIA, including 10 complete vases (alabastra, squat jugs, a semiglobular cup, and a Vapheio cup). The assemblage includes a few pots still made in the Matt-painted tradition, but mostly Mycenaean-style vases; after all, LH IIA marks the beginning of the rise to dominance of this style. The Mycenaean-style pottery is characterized by a wide range of shapes and motifs that are now introduced for the first time. These include both the so-called “palatial” (piriform and conical-piriform jars, Minoan jars, bridge-spouted jugs, and stirrup jars) and “domestic” (small piriform jars, hole-mouthed jars, rounded alabastra, jugs with cut-away necks, semi-globular and Vapheio cups, and goblets) shapes ([Figure 47](#)). Since a class of Mycenaean-style pottery appears to have been still produced at Aegina during this period,³⁸ these pieces may have originated in Aegina. There are also a few Marine-style pieces and, based on the Athenian provenance of Marine-style sherds from Phylakopi, Ayia Irini, and Knossos,³⁹ the Eleusinian pieces may have originated also in Athens. On the other hand, without scientific analyses it is impossible to establish whether the sparse Eleusinian pieces are actual Minoan imports, or belong to Mountjoy's “Pseudo-Minoan” class (Mainland products imitating Minoan vases),⁴⁰ or are possibly Aeginetan products. Continuity to LH I is limited to only three shapes: squat jugs FS 87, semiglobular cups



47. LH IIA Shape/motif combinations.

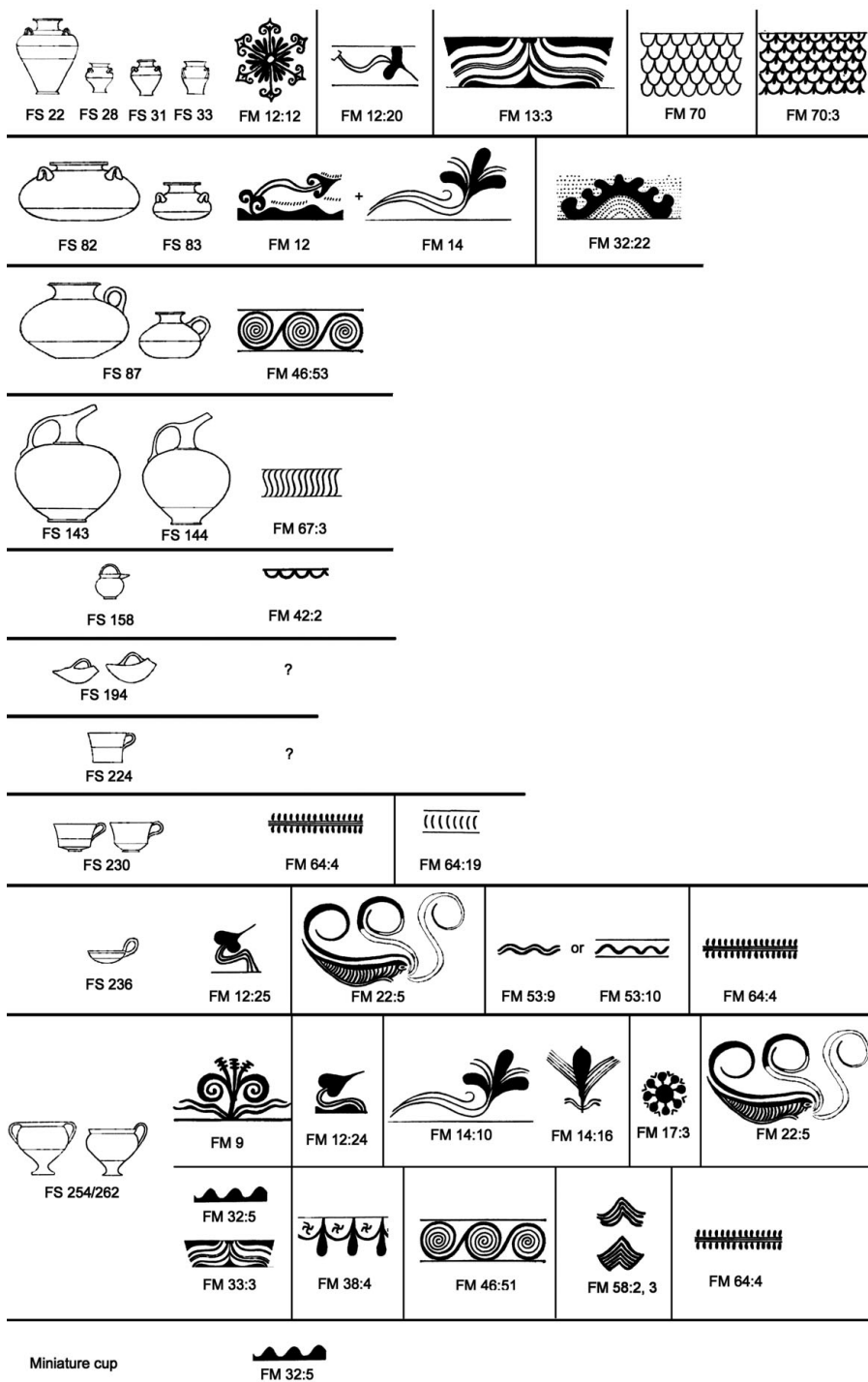
FS 211, and Vapheio cups FS 224, although the fragmentary nature of the material should be taken into account.

In terms of decoration, the repertoire of LH IIA motifs of closed shapes includes plants, hatched loops, stone patterns, and double axes, while on open shapes more common are spirals, double axes, variations of the ivy motif, and ripple (Figure 47). Motifs occupy the largest part of the surface of the vase, as opposed to the shoulder placement of LH I, and interiors of cups are now slipped.

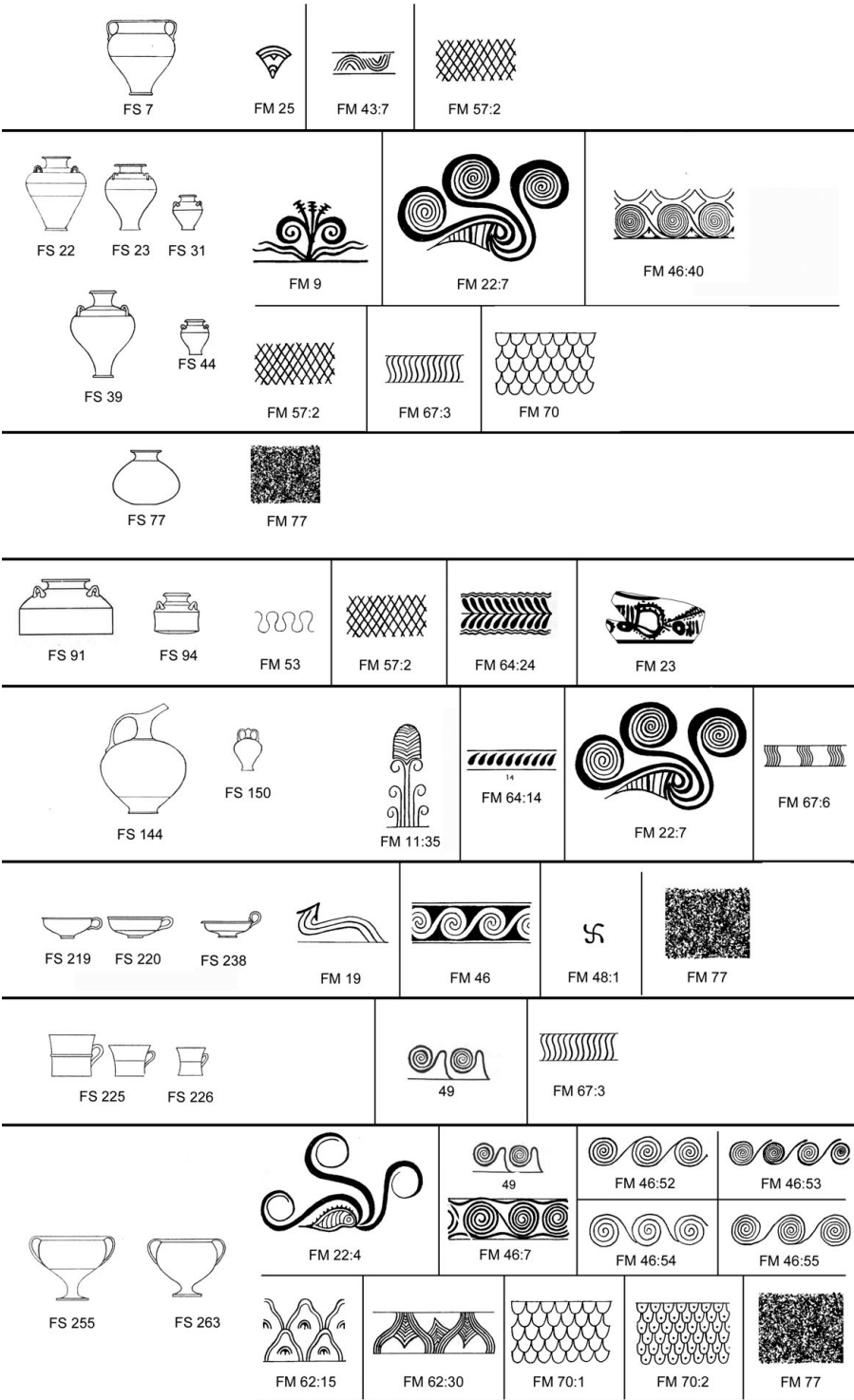
Late Helladic IIB

Pottery that can be dated to LH IIB includes about one hundred and twenty pieces, including seven vases and seventy sherds in the Mycenaean style, about thirty sherds of the style known as “Acropolis Burnished Ware”,⁴¹ and scraps of Matt-painted. The range of shapes of the lustrous Mycenaean pottery (Figure 48) includes some of the older LH IIA “domestic” shapes (piriform jar, rounded alabastron, squat jug, Vapheio cup, and goblet), along with four new ones: ring-handled cup, feeding bottle, carinated conical cup, and miniature cup. Of the “palatial” shapes only the beaked jug seems to survive from the previous period. The decoration includes several motifs that continue from LH IIA, but are more stylized than their predecessors.

Compared with the LH IIB ceramic assemblages from other sites, the material from Eleusis has strong similarities to that from Well Z from the Acropolis.⁴² These include the presence of Acropolis Burnished Ware and late matt painted, although there are no data that would allow us to estimate the frequency of



48. Combination of LH IIB shapes and motifs.



49. Combination of LH IIIA1 shapes and motifs.

each ware at Eleusis and compare it to that of Well Z.⁴³ Fewer similarities are noticed to Asine and Tiryns,⁴⁴ which may indicate stronger connections with Athens than with the Argolid.

Late Helladic IIIA₁

The LH IIIA₁ pottery (Figure 49) consists of about eighty Mycenaean-style and monochrome pieces from well-known shapes. The four commonest LH IIIA₁ motifs⁴⁵ are present at Eleusis: stipple on handleless jars and cups; curve-stemmed spirals with flowing stems on kylikes and cups; net on small piriform jars, alabastra, and kraters; and scales without fill on piriform jars and goblets. These motifs cover a large part of the decorative surface. Monochrome goblets are fairly common. A few Late Matt-painted and Acropolis Burnished Ware sherds have been found with LH IIIA₁ pottery.

The pottery from the settlement presents several differences to that of the West Cemetery. In LH IIIA₁, the straight-sided alabastron FS 91 and 94 occurs in the settlement, but in the West Cemetery occur the squat FS 84 and the straight-sided FS 93 alabastron. Two shapes from the West Cemetery have not been identified in the settlement: the stirrup jug FS 150⁴⁶ and the feeding bottle FS 159.⁴⁷

PAINTED PLASTER

Only two fragments of painted plaster are reported from the site (Figure 42). They were found in front of the north face of Wall 6 in the space between the wall and the third Peisistrateian column at a depth of 1.50 m from the top surface of the curved Geometric Wall E3 (Figure 71). Unfortunately, neither of these pieces has been located in the museum. As far as it can be reconstructed from the only surviving photograph and a brief entry in Mylonas's notes,⁴⁸ the larger fragment preserves part of the face of a female figure facing toward the right-hand side of the spectator. The figure appears to have been life-size: the height of the eye is approximately 1.8 cm, which means that the height of the face would have been approximately 15 cm and the total height of the figure would have been approximately 1.60–1.70 m. The slightly curved line of the forehead descends almost vertically; the eyebrow is gracefully arched and its line nearly touches the line of the forehead; the sclera is clear and the iris/pupil touch both eyelids; the tear duct is carefully drawn, short, narrow, and extending in a horizontal line toward the forehead.⁴⁹ The preserved photograph is black and white, but Mylonas describes the color of the face as off-white, the lines of the eye and the eyebrow as black, the outline of the face as red, and the background as greenish. The overall design of the eye is reminiscent of LC I/LM IA female figures from Thera, except that

Theran eyes are in general less elongated than the Eleusinian eye; and of the Kadmeion procession.⁵⁰ On the other hand, eyes on Mainland faces are drawn with thicker lines, with the iris/pupil touching the top eyelid, or are more schematic and drawn in less detail. Given the depth in which it was found and the stylistic similarities to early Mycenaean wall paintings, an LH IIB/IIIA₁ date is reasonable for this fragment.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The lack of zooarchaeological and paleobotanical data from Early Mycenaean strata do not allow any conclusions about subsistence.

As far as trade is concerned, the prominence of Aeginetan imports and the low number of Mycenaean-style sherds in the LH I period places Eleusis within the core area of Kolonna's sphere of influence.⁵¹ Despite the fact that, in absolute terms, Peloponnesian Mycenaean-style pots are not very common at Eleusis, their frequency as a proportion of the total ceramic assemblage from the period is higher than those of other Attic sites, where they are either negligible or nonexistent.⁵² This could indicate that the interactions of the Argolid with Eleusis were closer than those with the rest of Attica.

In LH IIA the range of shapes and motifs of the Mycenaean-style pottery expands considerably. Some of the Matt-painted pots continue to be imported from Aegina, but their proportion to the Mycenaean-style pots shrinks so much that the degree of interaction between Eleusis and its island neighbor seems to have decreased considerably. In LH IIB–IIIA₁ connections with Athens become stronger than those with the Argolid. In a broader Attic perspective, Eleusis adds important evidence to the so far meager LH IIA/IIB/IIIA₁ material from settlement sites.

Such a multifaceted trade activity may explain why Eleusis seems to grow through the MH and the LH I periods and, as Papadimitriou points out, may have functioned as the main port for trade between Boeotia/west Attica and Aegina/the Saronic Gulf.⁵³ One cannot help but notice that Minoan influence, measured in terms of the frequency of Minoan imports and Minoanizing objects, is practically nonexistent. Instead, Eleusis is engaged in intensive trade with Aegina and the west Attic/ Boeotian hinterland and probably serves as the main point of entry for Aeginetan products into Attica and Boeotia; in fact, until recently Eleusis provided the most convenient route from west Attica to Thebes and in the Late Bronze Age it could very well have served as Thebes' gateway port to the Saronic Gulf. The economic growth of the site appears to have been due to its function as a harbor through which large volumes of products were moved from Aegina into the Mainland. In contrast to Peloponnesian sites, Eleusis did not develop a "special relationship" with Minoan Crete, but with Aegina.

The economic growth of Eleusis, the emergence of one or more élite groups, and also the population increase indicated by the expanded use of the West Cemetery coincide with the expansion and economic growth of other Attic settlements, which, starting in LH IIB, exhibit signs of population increase, accumulation of wealth, and overseas trade within and beyond the Aegean.⁵⁴

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The emergence of regional élites elsewhere on the Greek Mainland during the latest MH phases and the Early Mycenaean period is documented through conspicuous consumption. The most obvious expression of this trend is in funerary investment in the form of embellished tomb forms and high-prestige burial gifts.⁵⁵ Wright has suggested that those élites were headed by leaders of factions, comparable to the ethnographically documented “Big Men” or “Men of Renown.”⁵⁶ Masculine prowess (expressed through accomplishments in warfare, hunting, or distant journey) may have been a major component of the ideological apparatus of those early power figures, which would agree with the deposition of prestige weapons and armor in the graves.⁵⁷ During the LH II period, in addition to the élite interest in prestige mortuary expression, there is evidence for investment in the construction of architecture for the living in the form of large building complexes. Overall, there is good reason to suggest that the roughly contemporaneous rise of élites throughout east-central and southern Mainland during MH III-LH II reflects the existence of different polities, for the most part politically independent, but with several common features.⁵⁸

There is good evidence to suggest that in the early Mycenaean period Eleusis may have been the center of one of those polities. In addition to being one of the largest known settlements of the period, it possesses both a mansion (Megaron B Complex) and an impressive built tomb (E.III.7). Megaron B may have been used as the residence of an important family, perhaps the family of the local ruler or chief.⁵⁹ The physical separation that the peribolos created between the interior of the Complex and its surrounding area must have been intended to provide privacy to the residents of the compound by separating their space from that of the rest of the community, enhancing in this way their special identity. The exceptional Complex Cist Grave E.III.7,⁶⁰ very close to Megaron B, may have served as the status-marking burial for that family – perhaps in a manner similar to the tholos tombs that were erected close to the seats of Early Mycenaean rulers in Messenia. As this grave predates the construction of Megaron B, it is possible that it may have been associated with the MH III Building A, which was the predecessor of Megaron B. What is unique about this grave is that it was in use for a very long time, from the end of MH through LH IIB/IIIA1, persisting even at the time when the West Cemetery was expanding and burials in the settlement area were going out

of fashion. As we saw from the earlier discussion, starting in LH IIA there was a surge in the construction of new graves in the West Cemetery, most of which were used for multiple burials. The fact that the majority of those graves continued to be used through LH IIB and LH IIIA₁, when E.III.7 was still in use in the settlement area, may suggest competition between a group with a long lineage, preserving and maintaining its ancestral grave in the settlement area, and new and emerging groups, buried in the West Cemetery. The possibility that another mansion (perhaps Unit A, constructed in LH IIIA₁/IIIA₂, after Megaron B)⁶¹ may have existed on the summit of the Eleusinian hill must also be mentioned, as it is hard to imagine that local élites would not have made use of the locational advantages of the summit. If this were the case, at least two important groups may have existed at this time, one residing in Megaron B (and possibly using grave E.III.7 as a status burial) and another on the hilltop, perhaps using as status burials the graves that were installed at that period in the West Cemetery (which would have been in direct view from the hilltop). Regardless of whether one or more élite groups emerged at Eleusis during this time, the existence of a mansion surrounded by a peribolos wall (Megaron B Complex) and a large built grave (E.III.7) suggests that conspicuous consumption expressed in the construction of elaborate building complexes was one of the mechanisms used by one local élite group to consolidate its authority.

RELIGION

It appears that another such mechanism was religion. Based on the evidence presented above, ritual activity involving burned animal sacrifices took place in the Megaron B Complex.⁶² The setting in which those sacrifices took place is a residential building with special architectural features: an elevated open-air altar (the platform) rising in front of a paved courtyard and a peribolos wall enclosing the entire complex. A double – residential and religious – function is not surprising, as often there is a fluidity between the religious and the secular functions of a space.⁶³ In this respect, the peribolos would have served *de facto* as a means of restricting access to the rituals, perhaps allowing only select community members, supporters, or groups to participate, thus enhancing the bonds between the group and its supporters. In this respect, the Complex may have also served as a “controlled center of worship,” a mechanism used by the group of Megaron B to consolidate its authority.⁶⁴

The religious beliefs behind the burned pig sacrifices evade us. It is tempting to notice the parallel between the sacrifice of pigs in the Mycenaean period and the later association of this animal with fertility and with Demeter.⁶⁵ However, retrojecting from later periods is not a viable method of establishing the content of a cult, especially since Demeter is not included in the deities of the Mycenaean pantheon.⁶⁶ It is possible that in the Mycenaean period Demeter’s

role was fulfilled by the *potnia siton* mentioned in the Linear B tablet from the Citadel House and perhaps depicted in the Room with the Fresco at Mycenae.⁶⁷ In this respect rituals associated with an agricultural deity would not be out of the question, although the restrictive access imposed by the peribolos would not be compatible with the character of harvest ceremonies, which are universally all-inclusive communal rituals.⁶⁸ Rituals that can be restrictive are those marking transitions from one important personal or communal life stage to the next, and restricting participation to specific groups (gender, social status, or age).⁶⁹ Another possibility would have been sacrifices to dead ancestors or heroes, but this would be based on inferences from later practices in which animals were burned not for gods, but for deceased persons or heroes;⁷⁰ such an inference would, however, fall in the same methodological pitfall of extrapolating early cult practices from those in later periods.

Within the larger context of Mycenaean religion, Eleusis is not the only case of burned animal sacrifices. Similar evidence has come to light from a number of Mycenaean sites, including Ayios Konstantinos at Methana, Pylos, Mt. Lykaion, and also possibly Mt. Kynortion, and Mycenae itself.⁷¹ It is now well understood that Mycenaean religious practices operated at different levels, official and popular, public and private.⁷² The growing body of evidence for burned animal sacrifices helps highlight these distinctions. For example, both at Prepalatial Eleusis and Methana, the sacrificial animals are pigs and in both places the burning takes place in a private (Methana) or semiprivate (Eleusis) setting; at Palatial Pylos, large numbers of cattle (and a few deer) are sacrificed in a public setting as part of an official ritual, possibly a “banquet d’État”⁷³ and the meat-carrying bones are burned ritually. These differences, between Eleusis/Methana on the one hand and Pylos on the other, may suggest that the Mycenaeans practiced two types of burned animal sacrifice, with different purposes and different audiences. In the first, a small group of people (perhaps a family) conducted the sacrifice and its members were the recipients of the benevolence of the gods; sacrifices took place in a private setting and included the ceremonial burning of pigs. In the second, the state conducted the sacrifice and the recipient of the blessing was the population at large; in this case the sacrifice also had political motives and included feeding large numbers of people and, therefore, larger and more numerous animals (cattle) were selected. Thus, a chronological pattern may begin to emerge, with private burned animal sacrifices in the pre-palatial period, developing into large-scale official rituals in the palaces. If this holds true, one may postulate that within the Mycenaean period burned animal sacrifices acquired an increasingly public character, from the private, small-scale sacrifices at LH IIB Eleusis, to the indoor sacrifices at LH IIIA/IIIB Methana, to the formal and conspicuous public sacrifices of LH IIIB Pylos.⁷⁴

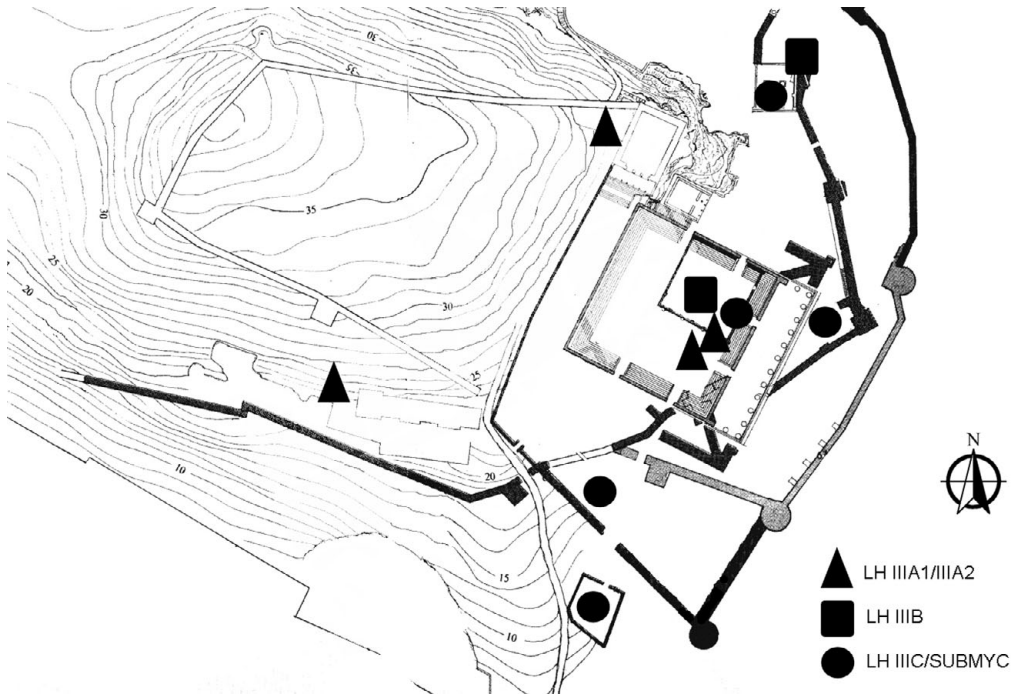
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PERIOD OF THE PALACES (LH IIIA2 TO LH IIIB)

STRATIGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

During the Palatial period (in ceramic terms Late Helladic IIIA2/IIIB), the most powerful of the élites of the previous period manage to establish in their respective seats complex systems of administration centered on palatial complexes. By the fourteenth century, a homogeneous culture has been established in the central and south Mainland, propelled by the economic growth of the main palaces and fueled by intensive trade contacts across and beyond the Aegean. In the kingdom of Pylos, from which we have extensive written records in the form of Linear B tablets, the administrative structure of the state includes the central capital of Pylos and a number of secondary centers that functioned as district capitals.

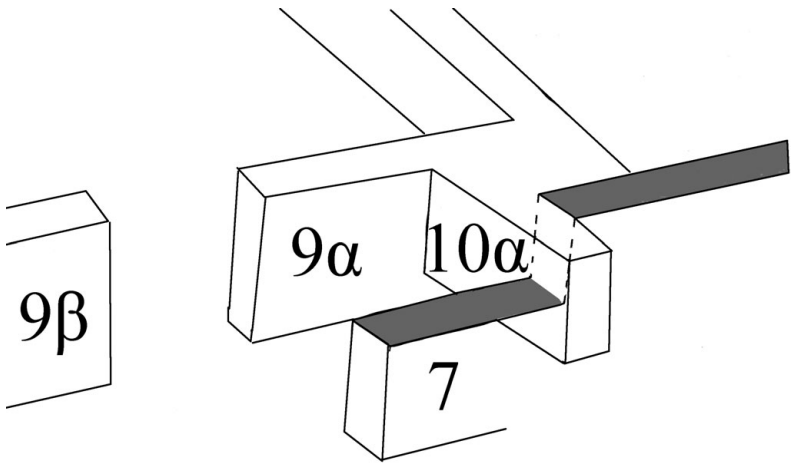
At Eleusis, the period is characterized by a flurry of building activity. A new extension is attached to Megaron B, and the settlement expands into previously uninhabited areas, especially in the east slope, where new buildings are constructed to the southeast and southwest of the Peisistrateian Telesterion and in front of the Lesser Propylaea (Figure 50). The discovery of Late Helladic IIIA2/IIIB material outside the Sanctuary suggests that the settlement extended even further to the east and south. Mycenaean sherds that cannot be dated closely and are not associated with architecture have been found approximately 150 m to the southeast of Megaron B, under the south corner of a Roman building excavated outside the south fence of the Sanctuary.¹ Also outside



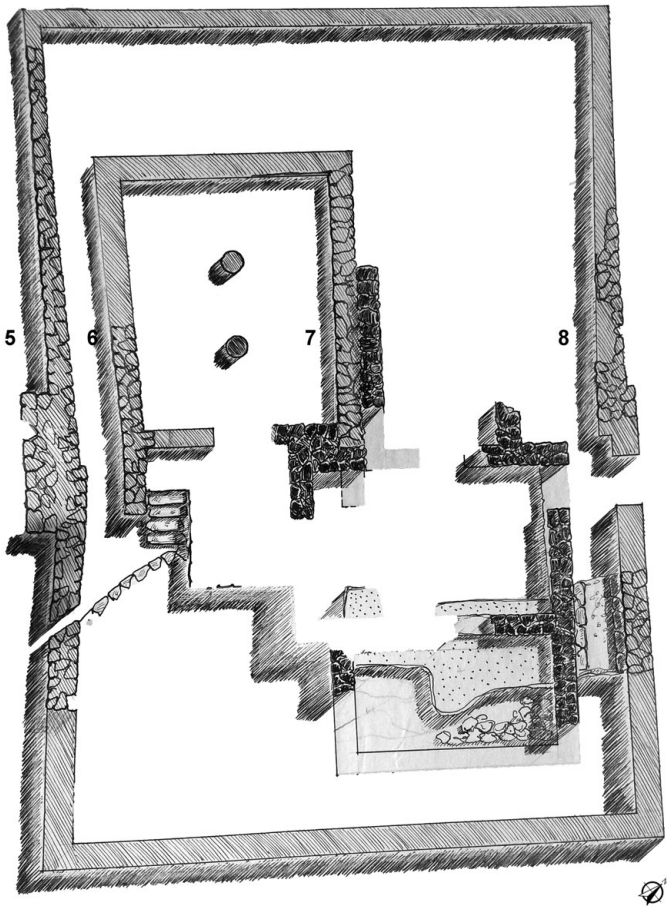
50. Location of LH IIIA1/IIIA2, LH IIIB, LH IIIC, and SubMyc deposits.

the fence of the archaeological site, a LH IIIA1-III A2 building complex was found approximately 80 m to the south of Megaron B. This complex included three buildings, one of which had seven rooms (in one of which there was a clay bathtub), the second was used for storage, and the third was only scarcely preserved.² All in all, it appears that in LH IIIA2 the settlement expanded considerably.

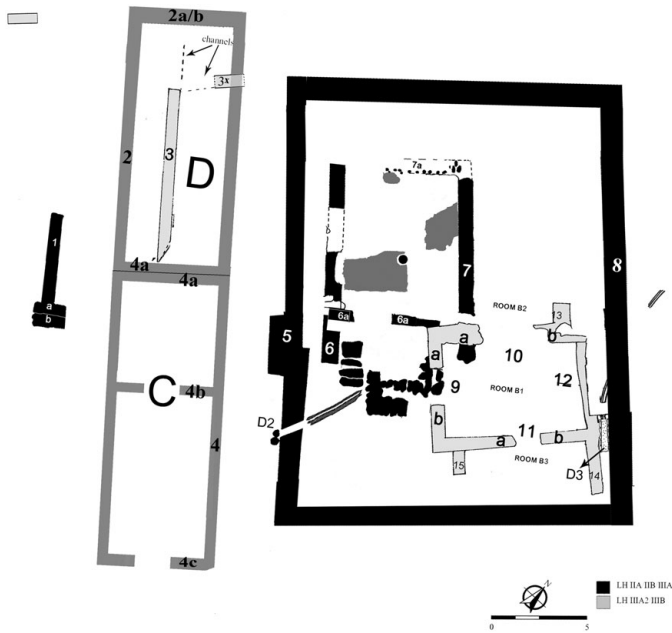
The most impressive new construction takes place in Megaron B, to which a suite of three rooms is added. These three rooms, marked as B1, B2, and B3 in [Figures 33](#) and [53](#), are roughly square and lined up in a northwest-southeast direction.³ Room B1, defined by walls 9, 10, 11, and 12 and measuring 7×4.40 m, is the only room preserved almost in its entirety. The walls are 0.60–0.65 m wide and constructed with large flat stones, between which smaller ones are wedged; the bottom course is made of flat stones forming a socle and protrudes from the line of the wall for added stability (this socle is visible under walls 9b and 11a in [Figure 55](#)). A 1.60 m-wide opening in the middle of the south wall (Wall 9) served as the entrance to the room from the platform. The two walls on either side of the opening ended in antae, but only the anta of the east part is preserved, made of seven courses of fairly large and flat stones; the stones of the second and fourth courses from the top are placed in a direction perpendicular to the direction of the wall, whereas in the other courses the stones are placed parallel to the wall ([Figure 56](#)). A second opening, 1.20 m



51. Schematic section of the joint between walls 9a, 10a, and 7.



52. Reconstruction of Megaron B, the peribolos, and the Extension B1/B2/B3. Athens Archaeological Society, Travlos Archives, Folder 8, Subfolder 2.



53. Plan of LH IIIA2/IIIB remains under the Telesterion; the peribolos and units C and D are shown reconstructed.

wide, marks the doorway from B1 to room B3, the threshold of which still survives in situ (Figure 57): it is made of a large Eleusinian stone, 0.95 m wide and 0.17 m thick. Whether a doorway led from room B1 to room B2 is unclear, because the middle part of Wall 10 was destroyed by the construction of the foundation of column VI5 (Figure 33). Part of the floor of room B1 was found next to the west face of Wall 11: it was made of hard packed earth and pebbles and had been severely burned, as indicated by the ashes and carbonized remains found on the pebbles. Only 5 cm above this floor were found two vase handles of the Geometric period, one in the form of a bird (possibly a dove) and the other in the form of a griffin.⁴ The floor of the vestibule of Megaron B was 0.62 m lower than the floor of B1, suggesting that at least two steps would have been required to provide easy access up. When Wall 9 was built, the staircase that originally flanked the platform on the north side (in symmetry with the south staircase between Wall 5 and the south side of the platform) was dismantled and the slabs from its steps were incorporated into the wall. Three of these slabs survive, incorporated into Wall 9.⁵ Walls 9 and 10a were constructed in such a way that they incorporated parts of the north wall of the platform and Wall 7 respectively.

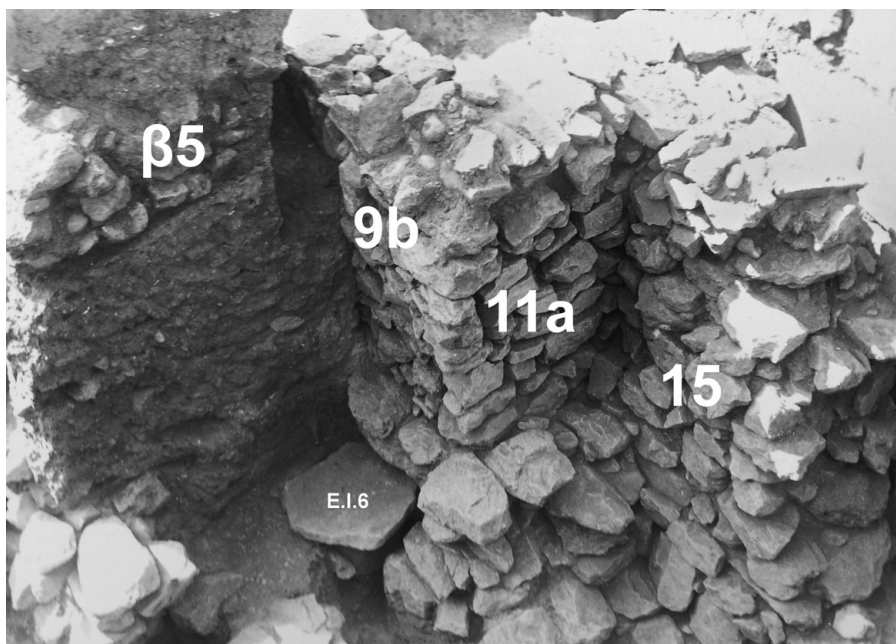
Rooms B2 and B3 are only partially preserved (Figures 33, 52). One stub of a wall survives from Room B2 (13 in Figure 33), which had been excavated at the end of the nineteenth century by Philios. This wall is parallel to Wall 7, so



54. The interior corner of walls 9b and 11a from the east. The floor of room B1 is marked with the arrow. The opening of Grave E.I.5 is visible at the bottom. Athens Archaeological Society, Photo Archives A/A 1246.

that these two served as the north and south walls of the room; small patches of the floor of this room, made of packed earth and small pebbles, have been found at about the same level as those of rooms B1 and B3 (see discussion that follows). Room B3 was excavated by Kourouniotes and Mylonas and a large part of it lies under the floor of the Peisistrateian *prostoon* and could only be excavated by means of tunnels (such as the one shown in [Figure 57](#)). Its west side is formed by Wall 11, which is abutted on the south by Wall 15 and on the north by Wall 14. Only its width could be established with certainty, spanning the space between walls 14 and 15, which is 5.75 m. The floor, made like the floor of Room B2, was covered by a 0.07 m-thick layer of burned soil mixed with ashes and remains of carbonized wood, which in turn was covered by two thick (about 0.10 m) layers containing burned mudbricks, presumably from the superstructure.

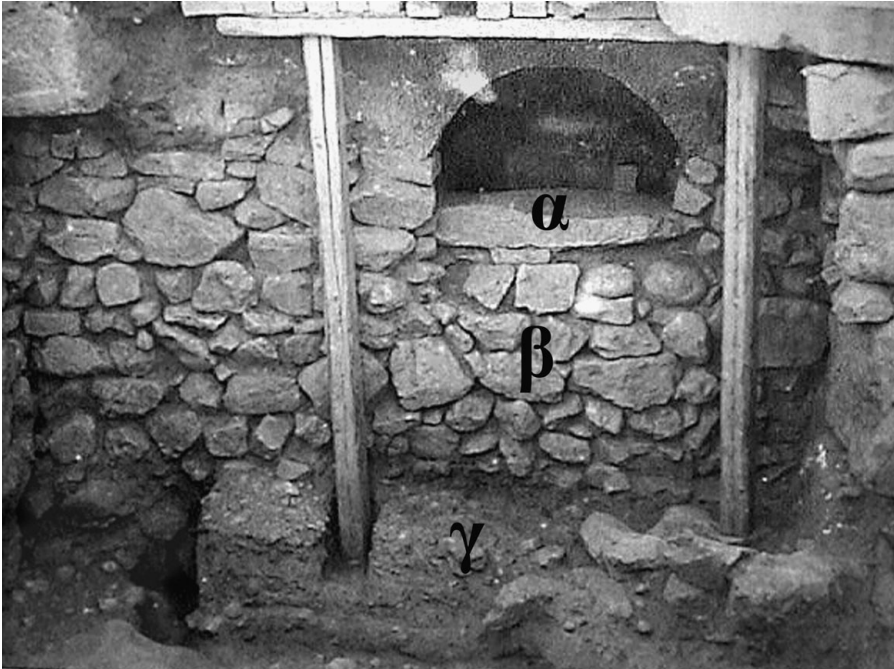
The architectural arrangement of these three rooms poses several problems. For example, when these rooms were constructed, did the entrance to the courtyard remain in the middle of Wall 8 or was it moved? If it remained,



55. Walls 9b, 11a, and 15 from the southeast. The cover slab of Grave E.I.6 is visible under Wall 9b. Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archive A/A 1269.



56. The entrance of Room B1 seen from the interior of the room (north), including walls 9a and 9b, stones from the foundation of the platform (γ), the base of the Peisistrateian column κ5 (δ), and the Kimonian column κ6 (ε). Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archive A/A 1267.



57. Doorway to Room B3 from Room B1 seen from the east, showing the threshold (α), the foundation of Wall 11 (β), and the underlying MH floor (γ). Notice the tunnel above the threshold, used by the excavators to access room B3. Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archive A/A 1281.

there would still be sufficient space for movement between Room B3 and Wall 8, but this space would be narrower than before. Another issue is that the floors of these rooms are about 60 cm higher than the floor of the platform and the vestibule, requiring at least two steps. Additionally, the reason for which Room B1 was built on part of the north end of the platform is unknown: it still left about three-quarters of the original platform surface uncovered, but it did result in reducing the original surface of the platform. These issues aside, it appears that structurally the Extension was constructed to serve as an attachment to Megaron B and that they were used concurrently. This interpretation is based on the careful joining of walls 9 and 10 with Wall 7 (Figure 51), the orientation of the three rooms (aligned with that of Megaron B), and the sort of centripetal arrangement in which access to both Megaron B and the suite of the three rooms was provided through the platform.

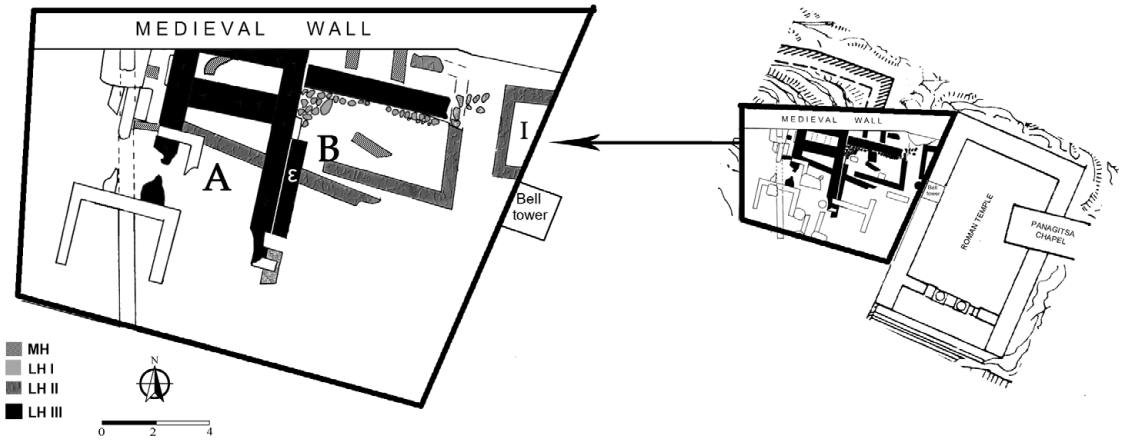
The concurrent use of both Megaron B and the Extension is also supported by the ceramic evidence. The sherds from under the walls of the Extension, as well as those found wedged between its stones are LH IIIA2/IIIB1, to which period the construction of the Extension can be securely dated. Pottery of the same period has been also found overlying LH IIB/IIIA1 loci in Megaron B, which, in combination with the architectural evidence for concurrent use of

Megaron B and the Extension, suggests that Megaron B continued to be used in this period.

Besides the Extension B₁/B₂/B₃, additional architectural remains of the LH IIIA₂/IIIB₁ period were found to the south of the Megaron B Complex and outside the area defined by the later Peisistrateian Telesterion. Most of these remains appear to have been built also during LH IIIA₂/IIIB, but are too fragmentary to allow any conclusive reconstruction of house plans (Figures 33, 53), as they have been severely damaged by the construction of the Geometric retaining wall E₁/E₂⁶ and the retaining wall Z of the Archaic terrace.⁷ Despite the fragmentary preservation of these walls, it may be possible to suggest that they define at least two houses, oriented roughly from east to west (Figure 53). The first house, called Unit C, had at least two rooms, defined on the north side by the long Wall 4, which indicates the total length of the house (approximately 17 m). This wall runs in a northwest-southeast direction and is constructed with large stones placed in clay mortar. It has an average width of 0.65 m and is preserved to a height of 1.35–1.50 m. The west side of this house is defined by the double wall 4a/a' (combined width 1.08–1.15 m) and the east side by Wall 4c. Wall 4b served as the crosswall between the two rooms, and a doorway may have existed in its middle. The pottery associated with this house is predominantly LH IIIA₂/IIIB₁, mixed with earlier, mostly LH IIIA₁ pottery. Numerous LH figurines are recorded in Kourouniotes's excavation notebooks as coming from this house. A second unit, called D, seems to have existed immediately to the west of C. This unit is defined by Wall 2 to the south (which is 0.60–0.65 m wide and founded on the bedrock), the double Wall 4a to the east, and Wall 2a/2b to the west; the north wall is not preserved.

At some point in LH IIIA₂/IIIB walls 3 and 3x are constructed, enclosing a rectangular area overlying the interior of unit D. Wall 3 runs roughly east-west and is preserved to a height of 0.86 m and a length of 8.75 m and an average thickness of 0.55 m. It is founded on a thick (0.60–0.65 m) fill that covers the bedrock and is constructed of irregular stones placed in clay mortar. Wall 3x is a short fragment of a wall that runs from the northeast to the southwest; a channel dug in the bedrock appears to continue its line to the point where it would have met with wall 3. At a distance of approximately 3 m to the northwest of the interior corner formed by walls 3 and 4a/4a' was preserved part of a floor made of large pebbles; this floor covered an area approximately 2 m long and 1 m wide, and could have been a courtyard or a road leading uphill, toward the northwest. In addition to the aforementioned walls, there are also other walls, which are too fragmentary to allow for the identification of buildings.

Additional buildings of this period have been found on the hilltop, but are preserved in a very fragmentary state (Figure 58). One of the largest is the

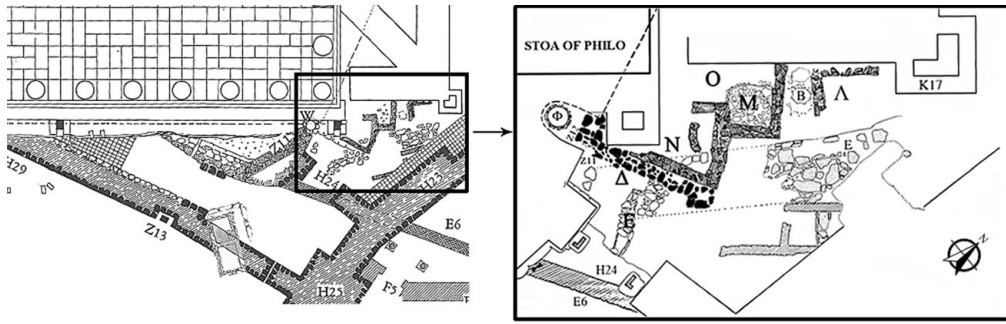


58. Plan of LH walls on the summit.

LH IIIA₁/IIIA₂ Unit A, a rectangular building with massive walls (about 1 m thick), of which only two rooms are preserved, since its north part was destroyed when the medieval wall was constructed. Unit B is partially built on top of the foundation of the east wall of Unit A and seems to have had a main room and a porch opening up to the north; its construction cannot be dated more closely than LH IIIA₁/IIIA₂/IIIB. Whether these buildings could have been parts of a larger complex with possible administrative functions is impossible to determine, but the size of Unit A would be compatible with the size of a mansion.

In terms of construction techniques, walls are built either with large stones placed perpendicularly to their direction or with irregular stones, which in some walls are placed in clay mortar. Double walls perpendicular to the direction of the slope are used to provide support to large buildings: such is the case of Wall 4a/4a' in Unit C, with a maximum combined thickness of 1.15 m served as support for Wall 3. Antae are used extensively: the most formal and best-preserved ones are those of walls 6 and 9; they are made of large rectangular blocks of stones forming an even facade. The anta at the north end of wall ε of Unit B on the summit (Figure 58) was constructed of large rectangular stones. Floors are made of packed earth and small pebbles, although a floor under the Lesser Propylaea (on which the well-known inscribed stirrup jar was found),⁸ is unusual in that it is made of fine medium-sized black sea pebbles mixed with packed earth and may have been coated with plaster.

Drains from this period are few; besides Drains D1 and D2 of Megaron B, which continue to be in use, a new drain is installed in the space between Wall 12 and Wall 8 (Figure 33). A fourth drain from this period drained Room M in front of the Stoa of Philo (Figure 59, but the drain is under the floor of



59. Plan of LH remains in front of the Stoa of Philo.

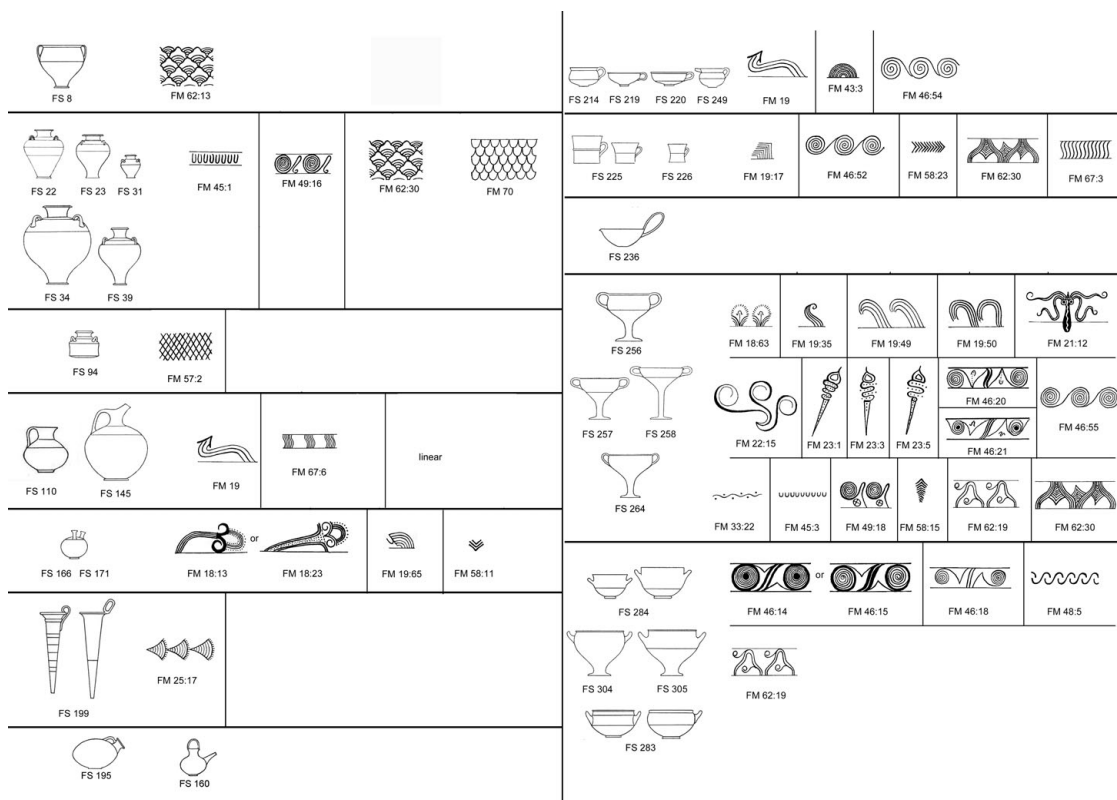
room M and does not show in this figure); information about the first does not survive, and about the second we only know that it was a built drain that continued under the north wall of Room M and exited into a peribolos (marked as B in Figure 59). This peribolos, about 1.40 m in diameter, is the only one identified from this period, and contained ashes and burned soil.

BURIALS

The number of new burials in the settlement area declines sharply: only one grave is built in LH IIIA2 Early and none in LH IIIB. By contrast, in the West Cemetery, nine new graves are constructed in LH IIIA2, five in LH IIIB₁, and four in LH IIIB₂.⁹ These graves are used for multiple burials, and in two instances a child had been placed in the arms of an adult, presumably its mother.¹⁰

The increase in the use of the West Cemetery in this period is also marked by the introduction of a new type of tomb – the rock-cut chamber. Four chamber tombs are constructed in LH IIIB and a group of an additional four (dated to LH IIIA2/IIIB₁) was found by Papangeli in a salvage excavation a few meters to the northeast of sector Θ of the West Cemetery.¹¹ The new type did not, however, become popular, as the inhabitants of Eleusis continued to use the traditional built grave types of their ancestors, never quite adopting the use of chamber tombs. Independently of whether the reasons for the low popularity of chamber tombs were geological¹² or cultural,¹³ the fact is that Eleusis did not follow Athens in adopting this type of burials. This would suggest that, despite their apparent economic ties (see discussion later in the book), Athens and Eleusis maintained important cultural differences.¹⁴

Overall, the funerary architecture of Eleusis in the Palatial period seems considerably dependent on the traditional Complex Built graves. Not only are chamber tombs not widespread, but tholos tombs are, on present evidence,



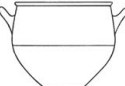
60. Combination of LH IIIA2 shapes and motifs.

nonexistent. It is intriguing that tholos tombs are known in east Attica and parts of the plain of Athens,¹⁵ but not in west Attica, which connects east Attica to the Peloponnese, the place of origin of the tholos tomb.

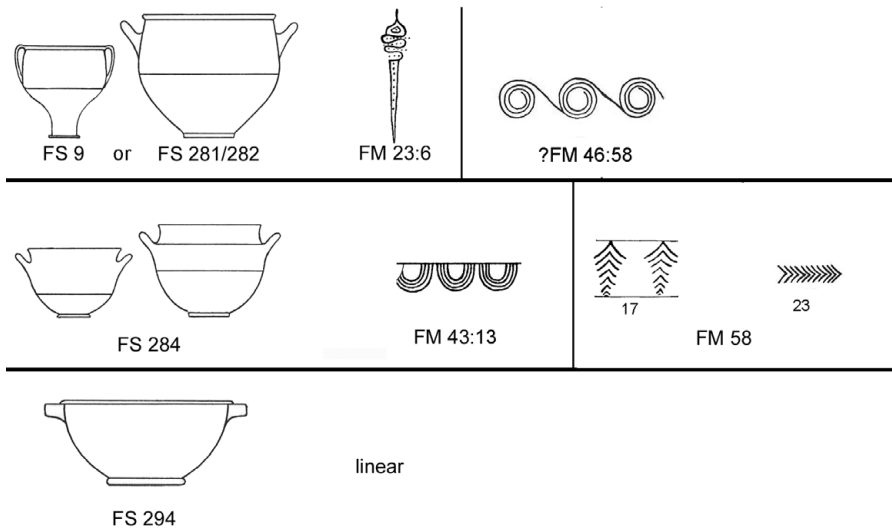
POTTERY

Late Helladic IIIA2 pottery amounts to about eighty sherds, including pieces of the standard Mycenaean-style and Acropolis Burnished Ware. Most known LH IIIA2 shapes are represented (Figure 6o). Decoration includes the typical for the period range of floral motifs, as well as stylized versions of marine motifs (octopus, argonaut, whorl shell) on kylikes, arranged in horizontal zones. Pictorial-style sherds have not been found in the material stored in the museum, but a sherd illustrated by Mylonas¹⁶ may have been from a krater decorated in the pictorial style. In LH IIIA2 Athens the Acropolis Burnished Ware seems to be replaced by Red Wash Ware, which, however, has not been identified at Eleusis.

A comparison of the LH IIIA2 ceramic assemblages from the settlement to those from the West Cemetery shows that a number of shapes used in

 FS 9	 FS 281/282	 FM 23:6	 FM 43:14				
 FS 40	 FS 48	 FM 60:2					
 FS 126	linear						
 FS 136	 FM 62:15	 FM 62:30					
 FS 167	 ? FS 180	 FM 18:112	dot rosettes	horizontal lines			
 FS 226	 FM 46:55						
 FS 249	 FM 43:15						
 FS 258A	 FS 258B	 FM 23:1	 ? FM 18:37				
 FS 284	 FS 284	 FM 50:4	 FM 50:8	 FM 58:15	 FM 58:17	 FM 62:15	 FM 75:10 or 38
 FS 300	 FM 58:35						
 FS 301	linear						
 FS 305	 FM 43:22	 FM 43:23					

61. Combinations of LH IIIB1 shapes and motifs.



62. Combinations of LH IIIB2 shapes and motifs.

the West Cemetery do not appear in the settlement; these include amphorae, ewers, rounded alabstra, feeding bottles, flasks, bowls, and spouted conical bowls, as well as the monochrome kylix FS 269.¹⁷ On the other hand, there is a preference for open shapes in the graves of the West Cemetery, which agrees with the evidence from contemporary burials in the rest of Attica.¹⁸

The LH IIIB1 material is small (approximately fifty pieces) and problematic, as there are not any closed deposits and LH IIIB1 and IIIB2 pieces have been found together. The identified shapes are represented by only a few sherds each, but the shapes typical of the period (Group B deep bowls and rosette bowls) are absent and there is only one piece that could have belonged to a kylix of the Zygouries type. On the other hand, the miniature bowl is a good chronological indicator. Typical LH IIIB1/IIIB2 motifs such as vertical whorl shells, semicircles, and tricurved arches with fill are used, but net pattern does not. Zonal decoration continues from the previous period, but deep bowls now have paneled decoration and motifs are arranged symmetrically.

A number of LH IIIB1 shapes do not seem to be represented in the settlement, although they are found in the West Cemetery: these include feeding bottles, narrow-necked jugs, hydriae, and flasks; kraters are absent from the West Cemetery in this period.

The LH IIIB2 material is also sparse (about fifteen sherds) and fragmentary. Only three shapes are represented, all from open vessels (kraters, deep bowls, and basins), with a limited range of motifs (vertical whorl shell, semicircles, and chevrons; see [Figure 62](#)). Although some sherds may be very early LH IIIB2 and others LH IIIB2 Late/LH IIIC Early, the lack of stratigraphic information does not allow for any conclusions about the distribution or possible phasing of

LH IIIB2 pottery. The period is also underrepresented in the West Cemetery, from which Mountjoy dates to LH IIIB2 an alabastron (FS 94) with wavy line and another two-handled alabastron (FS 96) with cylindrical lower body decorated with net pattern.¹⁹ Although the small number of recognizable LH IIIB2 pieces is certainly due to an overall shrinkage of the settlement, it may also have been caused by a resistance on the part of the Eleusinians to adopt those features that at Mycenae are used to differentiate LH IIIB1 from LH IIIB2.

FIGURINES

Very few Mycenaean figurines from the settlement have been located in the storeroom of the Eleusis museum (Figure 63), although in the excavation reports there are references to large numbers of Mycenaean figurines from various parts of the site.²⁰ The ones that have been located in the storage room of the museum are anthropomorphic figurines of the *phi*- and *psi*-types. Some are decorated with diagonal wavy lines from the upper right to the lower left corner and the contour of the torso is marked with a thick line; the breasts are indicated by small lentoid bits of clay added onto the torso. Chronologically these figurines fall into the LH IIIA1-IIIB1 range.²¹ Three figurines (one *phi*- and two *psi*-type) published by Mylonas²² have not been located in the museum. The collection of Mycenaean figurines from the West Cemetery consists of twenty-six anthropomorphic figurines of the *phi*- (standard and *proto-phi*), *psi*- (standard, hollow, high-wasted), and *kourotrophos*-types; most of these were deposited in children's graves and date to LH IIIA2-IIIB1.²³ Figurines of the *tau*-type are absent from both the settlement and the cemetery.

Several zoomorphic figurines have been found in the area of Megaron B, but few have been located in the museum.²⁴ One example (Figure 63, second row, left) may have belonged to a chariot group, as the decoration between the two sides of the torso is not symmetrical. The animal heads (Figure 63, bottom row) preserve horns or ears and could belong to cattle or a dog.²⁵ Mycenaean zoomorphic figurines have not been found in the graves of the West Cemetery,²⁶ but this agrees with the generally small number of zoomorphic figurines found in LH III graves.²⁷

SPINDLE WHORLS AND LOOMWEIGHTS

Mylonas reports several terracotta and steatite conical and biconical spindle whorls from the settlement.²⁸ The provenience of these whorls is unknown, but most belong to a type that, although introduced in the MH period, is considered a standard LH type.²⁹ In the West Cemetery, only a handful of



63. LH figurines.



64. Metal, stone, and clay tools.

spindle whorls (conical and shanked) have been found in Graves Θπ5, Θπ13, Θπ14, Θπ15, and Θπ15α. Given the small sample and lack of provenience information, conclusions about cloth production cannot be drawn.

METAL

Of the metal pieces found in the settlement only five have been located in the museum; their dates are uncertain and have been discussed above, with the MH metal finds (Figure 64).³⁰ The bronze finds from the West Cemetery are poor: one blade, three sets of tweezers, two pins, and a few beads, as well as scraps of bronze and silver.³¹

CHIPPED AND STONE TOOLS

The collection of chipped stone tools is scanty: two arrowheads, one of black Eleusinian stone and one of flint, are reported from the south slope.³² One denticulated flint blade was found in the new excavations.³³

The provenience of the hand axe (Figure 64, bottom left) is unknown. Among the items not located in the museum there is a small round pounder/grinder of hard stone, five small querns found by Skias in the south slope, and an unrecorded number of broken querns.

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Unfortunately, there are no palaeobotanical or zooarchaeological data that would provide information about subsistence strategies.

In terms of trade contacts, some low level of economic interaction with Aegina is revealed by the sparse Aeginetan products (tripod cooking pots), which seem to continue to be imported until as late as LH IIIB. Given the popularity of LH IIIA2 pictorial kraters in Attica and the islands of the Saronic Gulf,³⁴ the rarity of such vases at Eleusis and their total absence from the West Cemetery are remarkable.

The lack of the distinctive ceramic features that differentiate the LH IIIB1 from LH IIIB2 in the Argolid may suggest that during this period Eleusis enters the sphere of central and eastern Attica. On the other hand, the nearly complete lack of identifiable imported pottery during LH IIIA2-IIIB impedes any proper assessment of the contacts between Eleusis and other sites in the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean.

It is interesting that the prosperity – at least in terms of settlement and, one presumes, population size – of Eleusis coincides with the prosperity of administrative centers in the Argolid and Boeotia, as well as perhaps Athens,³⁵ and the rise of the Mycenaean *koine*. The sharp decrease in the frequency of

LH IIIB2 pottery may be taken as an indication of shrinkage of the settlement during the final years of the palatial period.

THE INSCRIBED STIRRUP JAR

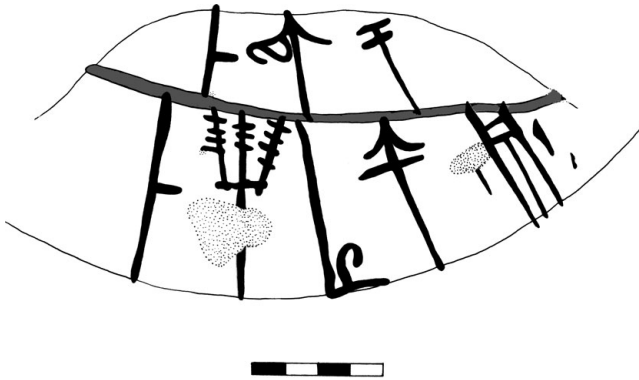
One of the most important Bronze Age finds from Eleusis is a stirrup jar inscribed with Linear B (**EL Z 1**, [Figures 65, 66](#)), found under the Lesser Propylaea in a later (LH IIIC) context (see discussion later in the book). The two-line inscription includes a place name attested on Linear B tablets from Knossos (*da-*22-to*), a personal name that may recur at Knossos (*da-pu₂-ra-zo*), and the abbreviation *wa*, which probably stands for *wa-na-ka-te-ro* – pertaining to the *wanax*/Lord. This vase belongs to a well-defined class of large transport vessels for wine and oil produced in Crete in LM IIIA2–IIIB Early and imported chiefly to Boeotian and Argolid sites as part of a remarkable nexus of overseas trade.³⁶ As such, it seems to hardly fit late LH IIIB or IIIC Eleusis, where Cretan imports are otherwise almost negligible and where transport stirrup jars of this type (FS 164) are extremely rare. It is even more intriguing that this singular find from a site that, on current evidence, lacks other Linear B inscriptions bears an inscription that refers to a Mycenaean ruler (*wanax*); and also that it shows considerable familiarity with writing, as indicated by the fine execution of the signs and the careful arrangement of the sign groups. A possible explanation is that this amphora is a leftover from a shipload that was being moved through Eleusis (the main Saronic port of contact) to Boeotia or the Argolid, where considerable amounts of Cretan transport stirrup jars (both inscribed and non-inscribed) have been found. As Petrakis suggests, this piece, which is dated stylistically to LM IIIA2 or IIIB Early, may have been preserved for more than a century as a heirloom, before ending in the LH IIIC house where it was found.³⁷

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Given the size and economic importance of Eleusis in the Mycenaean period, it is curious that we do not have any evidence for a literate palace administration. This lack of evidence may be the result of the extensive destruction that Bronze Age remains suffered as a result later construction. One partially preserved building theoretically could have been part of a “palatial” complex: the substantially built Unit A on the summit ([Figure 58](#))³⁸ could, by virtue of its size, have belonged to a large building complex, but in the absence of any concrete evidence for the existence of a palace, this is conjecture.³⁹ On the other hand, it is quite possible that, despite its large size and significant economic importance, Eleusis never developed into a first-order settlement and did not function as a seat of a palatial administration, but became instead



65. The inscribed stirrup jar.



66. Drawing of **EL Z 1**. Dark grey indicates the central ruling line.

a second-order center, of the sort documented for Pylos. A parallel might be drawn to the site of Iklaina, which in the Early Mycenaean period was the center of an independent polity, but in the Late Mycenaean period became one of the district capitals of the kingdom of Pylos. If Eleusis followed a similar trajectory, it could have been a dependent of one of the major palaces; given the economic significance that Eleusis had for Boeotian trade,⁴⁰ that palace would likely have been Thebes.

Starting in LH IIIB2, the settlement seems to shrink. The lack of LH IIIB2 deposits and the small number of LH IIIB2 vases seems to anticipate the decline of the site in the LH IIIC and SubMyc periods. This decline contrasts sharply with the growth of LH IIIC settlements in east Attica, which was probably due to profitable trade with the Aegean and beyond.

RELIGION

In the Palatial period, the Megaron B Complex is augmented with the construction of the Extension B1/B2/B3. Although the Megaron and the Extension are used concurrently throughout LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB, clear and explicit remains for rituals from this period have not survived. The ceramic finds from Megaron B include several drinking vessels, but sufficient evidence to suggest extensive feasting does not exist.⁴¹ Possible indirect evidence for religious rituals may be provided by the large number of human and animal figurines found in LH IIIA2/IIIB1 contexts to the south of the Complex.⁴² Additional indications for religious activity may be found in a peribolos found outside the north wall of Room M approximately 15 m to the east of Megaron B (Figure 59), which contained ashes, burned soil, and animal bones (although whether or not those bones were burned is not indicated in the excavation report).⁴³

Despite the lack of direct evidence for rituals during this period, there is no reasonable basis for assuming that the Megaron B Complex lost its religious function. A process of desanctification of a religious space leaves clear indicators in the archaeological record, in the form of abandonment or demolition of architectural elements relating to the religious rituals performed. This is not the case here, because the two special architectural features of the Complex – the platform/altar and the peribolos – continued to be in use. This continuation of their use indicates that the purpose for which they were constructed in the first place also remained in effect.

At the same time, the addition of the three rooms of the Extension B₁/B₂/B₃ in LH IIIA₂/IIIB₁ requires an explanation, as it indicates an increased complexity of the architectural arrangement of Megaron B and the need for additional interior space. Although it is tempting to connect the Extension to the religious rituals held in the Complex (in which case it could have been an expression of a growing formalization and complexity of religious practices, such as the one proposed by Wright⁴⁴), the fact remains that the primary function of the Complex was as a residence. This primarily residential function of the building, combined with the lack of special architectural features or ritual objects from the three rooms of the Extension, suggests that the additional space was meant to provide more living space for the growing group that resided in the Complex, rather than to accommodate the needs of an increasingly complex cult.

CHAPTER NINE

THE POST-PALATIAL PERIOD

STRATIGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURE

The demise of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200 BC ushers in an era of instability and turmoil. Besides the collapse of the administrative structure of the palatial centers and their complex societies, numerous non-palatial sites are destroyed or abandoned and life continues without interruption in only a handful of sites.

At Eleusis, Late Helladic IIIC and SubMyc¹ deposits (Figure 50) are rare: fragments of walls belonging to a complex of four rooms found in 1952 in front of the stoa of Philo date to “Late Mycenaean” times, but a closer date is impossible because the finds have not been located in the museum; as the floors of these rooms were covered with ashes, Mylonas compared this complex to the Geometric Sacred House.² Sporadic LH IIIC sherds have been found on the floor of Megaron B and the Extension B1/B2/B3. Additionally, sherds found between and under the stones of the paved road to the east of the Stoa of Philo are reported by Mylonas to have belonged to the “closing years” of the Mycenaean period. Finally, a few LH IIIC sherds have been found in mixed deposits to the south of the Peisistrateian Telesterion and under the Lesser Propylaea. Sub-mycenaean sherds have been found in Megaron B and the Lykourgeion, and one complete vase probably came from a grave in the vicinity of the Southwest Stoa. Overall, this scarcity is consistent with the

lack of LH IIIC/SubMyc burials both from the West Cemetery and from the settlement area.

Somewhat puzzlingly, one of the most significant finds from the site – the well-known inscribed stirrup jar³ – was discovered in what is reported to be an LH IIIC context under the Lesser Propylaea, but very little is known about the building in which it was found. From that building survives only a wall, 0.40 m thick, built with medium-sized stones forming regular courses and running in a northwest-southeast direction; the wall defines a room that opens to the east, the floor of which is made of fine medium-sized black sea pebbles mixed with packed earth.⁴ Fragments of white plaster found on the floor could have fallen from the wall. On the floor were found about twenty LH sherds of the so-called “Granary style” and of “the well-developed LH III varieties that preceded that style.”⁵ Although the relevant material could not be located in the museum for study, on the strength of Mylonas’s account we may suggest a LH IIIC date for this context.

An important point regarding the length of use of Megaron B must be made here, as there are strong archaeological arguments that suggest that the Megaron B Complex continued to be in use during the Post-palatial period:

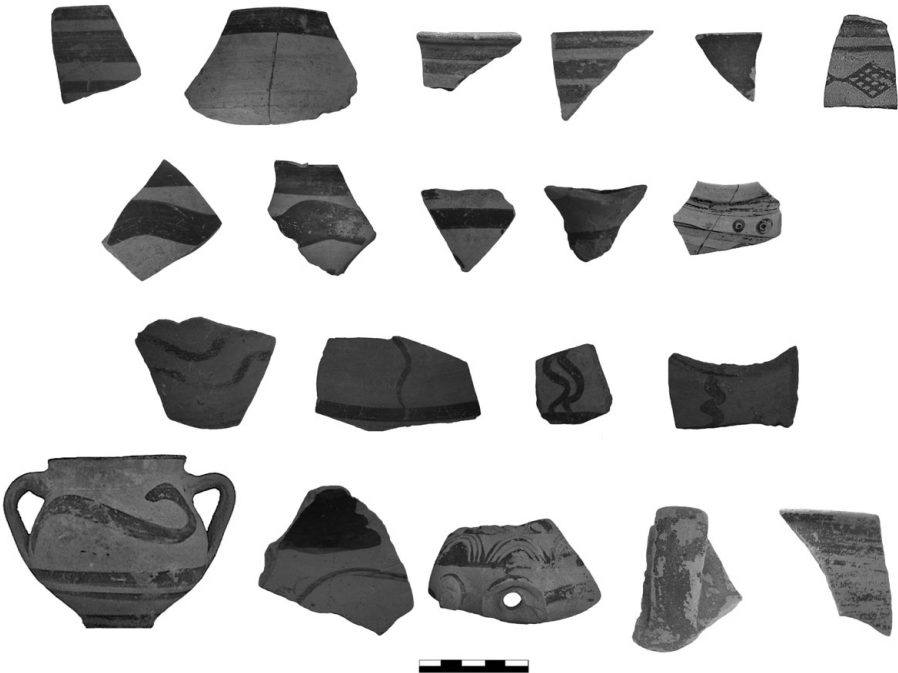
1. The top course of the Geometric Wall E3 (Figure 71), built in the eighth century, lies approximately 0.40 m lower than the top courses of walls 6 and 7 and 0.70 m lower than both the floor of the Room B1 and the top courses of walls 9 and 11 of the Extension B1/B2/B3 (Figure 33).
2. The preserved parts of the mudbrick superstructure of the Extension B1/B2/B3 rose even higher, suggesting that the Extension remained in use until the construction of Wall E3.⁶
3. The discovery of SubMyc, PG, and G sherds in the area of the Complex (see section on Pottery later in the chapter).

BURIALS

An adult pit grave may date to the LH IIIC Early period and another (possibly pit) grave in the vicinity of the Southwest Stoa may be assumed on the basis of a complete amphoriskos (Figure 67, bottom left).⁷ Recognizable LH IIIC material has not been found in the West Cemetery,⁸ but Mylonas has noted that a stirrup jar found in Θπ5 could be dated as late as LH IIIC Early.⁹

POTTERY

Very little ceramic material survives from the Post-palatial period, consisting of about twenty LH IIIC and nine SubMyc pieces (Figure 67). These are discussed here together because of the small size of the sample and also because



67. LH IIIC and SubMyc pottery.

 FS 64	 FM 27:35			
 FS 70	Linear	 Figure of eight		
 FS 215	 FS 216	Linear	Monochrome	
 FS 275	 FS 275	 FM 46:59?	Linear	Monochrome
 FS 282	Linear	Monochrome		
 FS 284	 FS 284	 FM 73:5	Linear	Monochrome

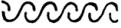
68. LH IIIC Shape/Motif combinations.

the provenience of most of these ceramics is unknown. It is not possible to isolate LH IIIC Early 1 or Early 2 pieces. The LH IIIC Middle phase is represented by the carinated cup FS 240, the deep bowl FS 284 with a thick wavy band on the outside and a monochrome interior, the conical kylix FS 275 (and possibly the one-handled bowl FS 242), and the collar-necked jar FS 64. The LH IIIC Late phase is represented by the cup FS 216, the jug FS 115, the amphorae FS 69 and FS 70, and the ring-based krater FS 282, all with linear decoration. The combination of LH IIIC shapes and motifs is shown in [Figure 68](#).

Ceramically, the SubMyc period at other sites is characterized by a shrinkage in the range of shapes, with amphoriskoi, stirrup jars, lekythoi, cups, and deep bowls remaining as the only popular ones. There seems to be considerable regional variation in the use of certain shapes: for example, there is preference for wide-necked jugs, as well as neck-handled and belly-handled amphorae in Elis and Attica, but less so or not at all in other regions. Patterned decoration includes simple motifs: cross-hatched triangles, semicircles (some with solid centers), wavy lines, and zigzag are often found in reserved horizontal zones, with the rest of the vase being dark monochrome; antithetic loops, solid triangles, and necklaces against light background decorate larger amphorae and jugs.

At Eleusis nine sherds – mostly shoulders from closed vessels – and one complete vase can be assigned to the SubMyc period ([Figure 67](#), two bottom rows). They come from Megaron B, the Southwest Stoa, and one was found in a box marked “Lykourgeion.” The shapes represented are monochrome deep semiglobular cups and deep bowls, but also a variety of closed vessels: lekythoi or stirrup jars decorated with single or double vertical wavy lines and amphoriskoi decorated with one or more horizontal wavy lines or two rows of isolated semicircles. The complete amphoriskos shown in [Figure 67](#) (bottom left) is unusual, in that instead of the standard horizontal handles it has two vertical loop handles from the point of maximum diameter to the neck; both the shape and the decoration, which consists of scroll/quirk (FM 48) on the upper body and horizontal bands on the lower belly, find parallels to SubMyc pottery from West Greece and may suggest a West Greek origin.¹⁰ If this is true, it supports Ruppenstein’s suggestion that Attica and west Central Greece were in contact during the period. In terms of chronological range, parallels with the Kerameikos material suggest that these few SubMyc pieces from Eleusis represent a good part of the SubMyc period, from Ruppenstein’s Stage I to the transition to the PG.

All in all, the absence of extensive LH IIIC and SubMyc deposits indicates considerable shrinkage in human habitation, a situation that seems to continue the decline already seen in LH IIIB. It should be noted that, in the absence of stratigraphic evidence for distinctions between LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC1, it

 FS 60	Wavy lines	 FM 43	 FM 48
 FS 115	Wavy lines		
 FS 124, FS 177		 FM 53:12	
 FS 217	Monochrome		
 ?FS 286	Monochrome	Linear	

69. SubMyc Shape/motif combination.

is possible that some of the ceramic material may in fact belong to a single chronological phase, as apparently was the case for some other Attic sites.¹¹ The overall picture of decline and paucity of material is in agreement with the lack of burials in the West Cemetery and in the settlement, but contrasts strongly with the thriving overseas trade of eastern Attica during LH IIIC.¹² Despite this decline, the evidence indicates that the site continued to be used; even if such use was sporadic or parochial, the picture of a total abandonment that was believed to have been the case until now does not conform to reality and must be revised.

CHAPTER TEN

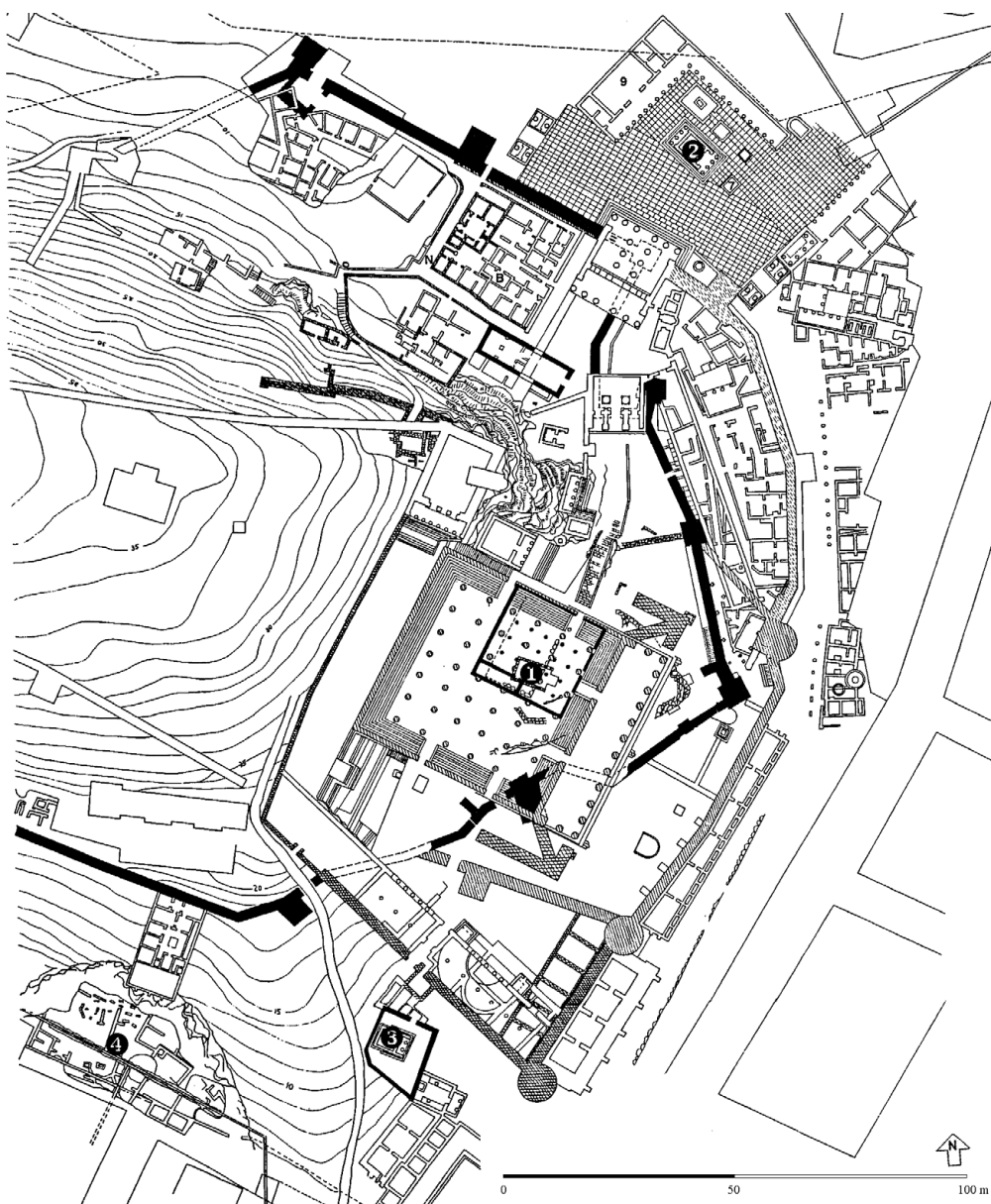
THE POST-BRONZE AGE HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARY

THE PROTOGEOMERIC AND GEOMETRIC PERIODS

The history of Eleusis at the dawn of the Iron Age is obscure, as remains of the PG and EG periods are sparse. A number of peripheral communities seem to have developed by the Early PG in a radius of about 500 m from the sanctuary, especially toward the north.¹ Within the site itself, a group of PG sherds was found by Mylonas in the fill under the Geometric Terrace Wall E1 (Figure 74) and additional PG material of unknown provenience in the storage rooms of the Eleusis museum² indicate that the site continued to be used.

Architectural remains of the PG and Geometric periods have been found in three locations (Figure 70). In the area of the Telesterion (Figure 70:1, Figure 72) a polygonal terrace was built sometime in the eighth century, supported by a retaining wall. Only two parts of this wall survive: the north part (E5) is preserved to a height of 2.50 m above the bedrock; the south part (E1) is preserved to a length of 6 m and its southwest end forms an anta (Figure 74, left, marked with the arrow). Access to the top surface of the terrace was provided from the south through a flight of as many as seven steps, of which only three survive (Figure 72, E2; Figure 74).³

The function of the curved Wall E3 (Figures 71, 72), which would have stood on the terrace, is debated. This wall is preserved to a length of 5.50 m⁴ and has been built on top of the south wall of the Mycenaean peribolos of Megaron B (Wall 5 in Figure 33), right on the Mycenaean fill. Noack had



70. Distribution of EIA deposits.

thought that wall E3 belonged to an altar, whereas Kourouniotes and Mylonas considered it part of a circular (Kourouniotes) or apsidal (Mylonas) temple.⁵ The problem with interpreting it as a temple is that only its outer (south) face is dressed, which means that the interior face was not visible.⁶ This led Travlos to suggest that it was a retaining wall, supporting a smaller terrace supporting the Megaron B Complex.⁷ At this point it must be repeated that at the time of the construction of Wall E3 *both the Megaron B and the Extension B1/B2/B3*

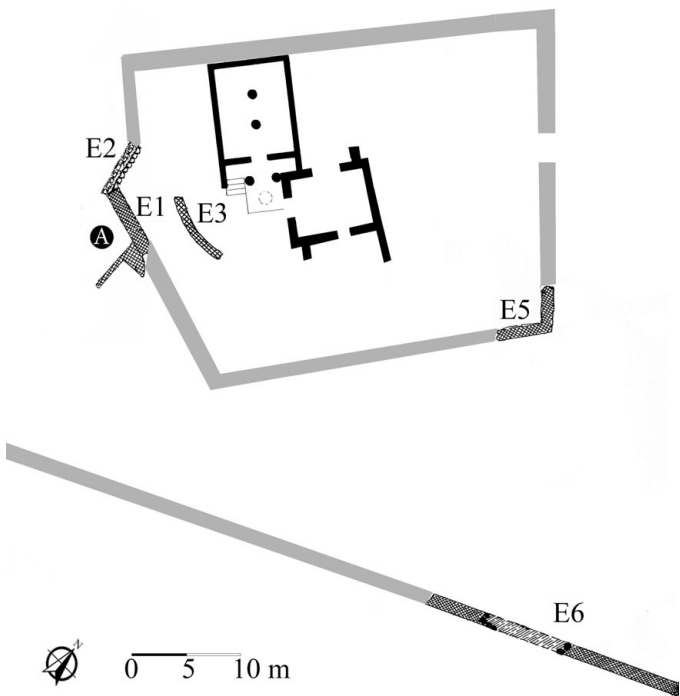


71. Curved Geometric wall E3 on top of the Mycenaean Wall 5. Athens Archaeological Society Photo Archive A/A 1037.

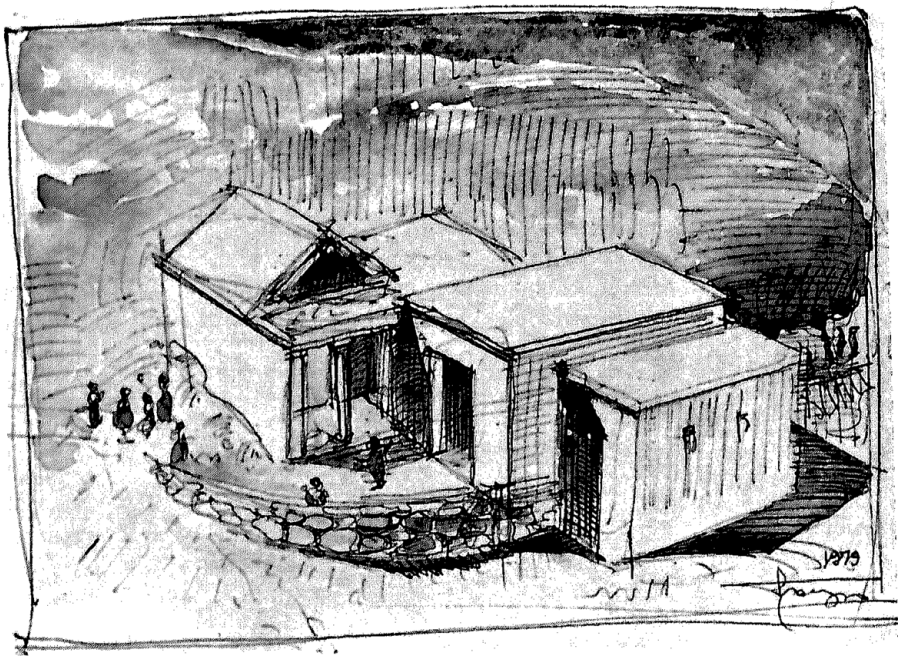
were standing and plausibly in use,⁸ which supports Travlos's suggestion. In fact, because wall E3 is built right on top of the Mycenaean peribolos and because its line, if continued to the northeast, goes around Megaron B and the Extension B1/B2/B3 (Figure 73), it is possible that its purpose actually was to replace Wall 5 of the Mycenaean peribolos and function as the Geometric peribolos of the Complex. In terms of chronology, Wall E3 was built in the early eighth century, while the large polygonal terrace was built slightly later, toward the middle of the century.⁹

A group of Late Geometric and Early Archaic figurines¹⁰ were found in front of the south side of Wall E1 and were associated with traces of fire on the south face of E1. Noack had suggested that these figurines has been thrown in front of wall E1 from an altar that he had thought existed on top of the polygonal terrace, but the traces of fire on the south side of Wall E1 prove that this was not the case.¹¹ These figurines belonged to a ritual pyre ("pyre A", Figure 72), which is discussed in detail later.¹²

The polygonal terrace and any buildings that would have stood on it were enclosed by a long wall, parts of which were found in front of the northeast corner of the Stoa of Philo (Figure 72, E6). The wall, originally excavated by Kourouniotes in 1928, was later reinvestigated by Mylonas and Travlos.¹³



72. The Geometric walls in the area of the Telesterion. Pyre A is indicated by "A." The reconstructed part of the wall between E1 and E5 is shown in grey.



73. Reconstruction of the small terrace by Travlos.

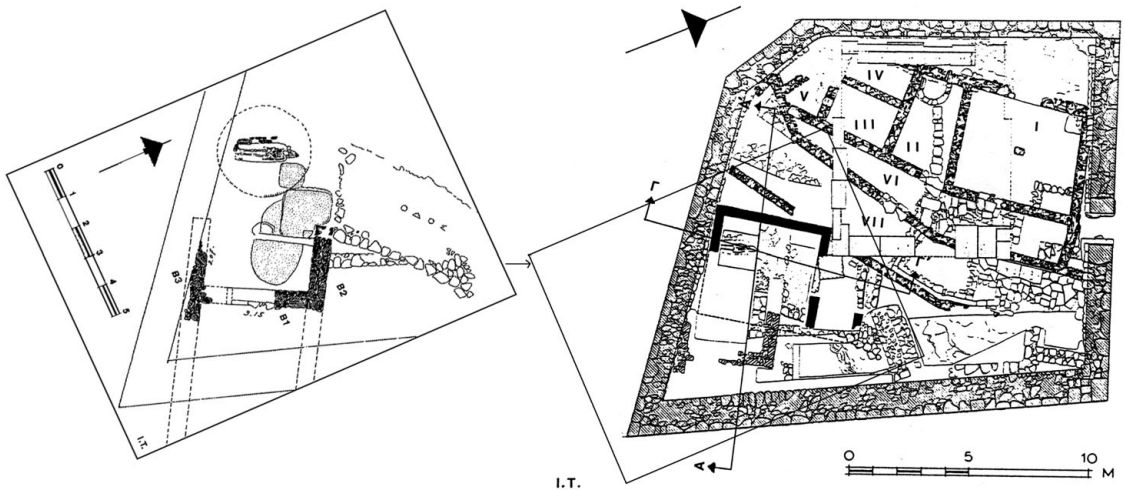


74. Walls E1 and E2 from the west (left) and the south (right). The arrow on the left shows the anta of wall E1.

It is 0.90 m wide, preserved to a height of 1.50 m, and was followed to a length of 12 m; it rests on a row of stones held together by mortar, dated to the middle of the eighth century.¹⁴ If Travlos were right in suggesting that the Peisistrateian wall followed the line of an already existing Geometric wall, the original length and direction of that Geometric wall could have enclosed the whole area of the later Telesterion and could have had two or possibly three gates: one in the north, one in the south, and, possibly, one on the east side of the wall, near the NE corner.¹⁵ A paved road of the Geometric period, found in front of the flight of steps that led up to the terrace (Figure 72, E2) and another one under the Lesser Propylaea, may have led up to the south and north gates, respectively; another paved road, of the closing years of the Geometric period, excavated by Mylonas and Travlos in 1952 to the east of the Stoa of Philo, may have led up to the east gate.¹⁶ Sourvinou-Inwood made a case for a Geometric Sacred Way that would have entered the Sanctuary from the north, which she saw as an expression of the political dependence of Eleusis on its powerful neighbor.¹⁷

Beyond the area of the Telesterion, remains of an apsidal building of the eighth century were also excavated in 1937 under the temple of Artemis (Figure 70:2). This building may have been a Geometric–Early Archaic temple to Artemis and Poseidon,¹⁸ but Mylonas’s discussion of the wall seems to imply a domestic nature for the structure, in spite of its apparently large size.¹⁹

A third building constructed toward the end of the eighth century is the Sacred House (Figure 70:3, Figure 75), in the south slope. It is a complex of four rooms (the southernmost covering a small triangular area) oriented northeast-southwest and aligned along a corridor, in front of which there is a paved court.²⁰ In the three main rooms Kourouniotes found several vases among ashes, which he explained as remains of sacrifices (hence the name “Sacred House”). In 1938, Kourouniotes and Travlos excavated a male burial a few meters to the southeast of the building, on top of which they found an earth mound with sacrificial pyres dating in the period from the end of the



75. Plan of the Sacred House.

eighth to the end of the seventh century BC (Figure 75, left).²¹ This burial may have been associated with a small megaron underlying the Sacred House, situated either immediately before its entrance or within the back room of the structure, which would have then served either as the dwelling of the deceased or as a specifically funerary building.²² Shortly after the installation of this burial, the megaron seems to have been destroyed, to be replaced by the four rooms that comprise the complex of the Sacred House. Opinions about the function of the complex and the time at which cult practice was established there differ considerably. Travlos thought that the Sacred House was used as a residence for the Eumolpid family until the middle of the eighth century BC, at which point its function changed to ancestral cult of the person who was buried nearby.²³ Other suggestions are that the building was associated with the “House of the Kerykes,”²⁴ or that it was a cult building that replaced Megaron B, which may have had a domestic use.²⁵ Notwithstanding these differences of opinion, it seems that at some point in the Late Geometric period the Sacred House was indeed used for cult purposes,²⁶ perhaps a hero or ancestor cult.²⁷ Mylonas has noticed the existence of a contemporary structure with similar ritual features (peribolos, ash deposits) near Well W.²⁸

A PG to MG cemetery excavated by Skias on the south slope of the hill (Figure 70:4) apparently functions as the main burial ground at this time, although the West Cemetery continues to be in use (see discussion later in the chapter), and some PG and especially LG graves exist in the various habitation clusters discovered around the hill.²⁹ This cemetery on the south slope contains several cremation and inhumation burials,³⁰ of which the most impressive are two graves of women, the MG I Grave α' and the MG II “Grave of Isis,” so named because of a statuette of the Egyptian Goddess found in its interior.³¹

The social persona of the woman buried in the Isis grave is debated (opinions range from priestess to unmarried woman to member of the aristocracy), but as Papangeli observes, at the very least these two burials show the presence at Eleusis of a fairly wealthy and economically influential group.³² The West Cemetery continues to be in use, as some EG activity is noted there, and in LG a wall is erected around a group of eight MH and LH graves.³³ Based on passages in Pausanias and Plutarch, Mylonas interpreted this group as a “heroon” for the Seven against Thebes,³⁴ but the existence of other contemporaneous burials in this area (many of which had disturbed prehistoric graves) has led Antonaccio to downplay the cultic significance of this enclosure. Instead of being an expression of a hero or ancestor cult, it seems that this enclosure belonged to a fairly widespread Iron Age phenomenon by which periboloi were constructed as people appropriated earlier graves and the dead buried in those graves, and “converted them into ancestors.”³⁵

Evidence for cult activity from the eleventh to the eighth century does not survive. And yet, given the numerous graves of the period (South Slope and West Cemeteries), which suggest substantial human presence in the settlement, it is hard to imagine that some kind of religious activity would not have been maintained. There are two factors which, combined, explain the absence of signs of such activity: (1) the overall level of human activity during this period is low, resulting in only very few traces surviving in the material record; and (2) later construction has been so extensive that it obliterated any signs of religious activity that may have existed in an already poor material record.³⁶ Common sense agrees with de Polignac, who argues that the absence of material evidence does not suggest a total absence of religious activity, but simply that religious activity was of the type not traceable in the archaeological record.³⁷

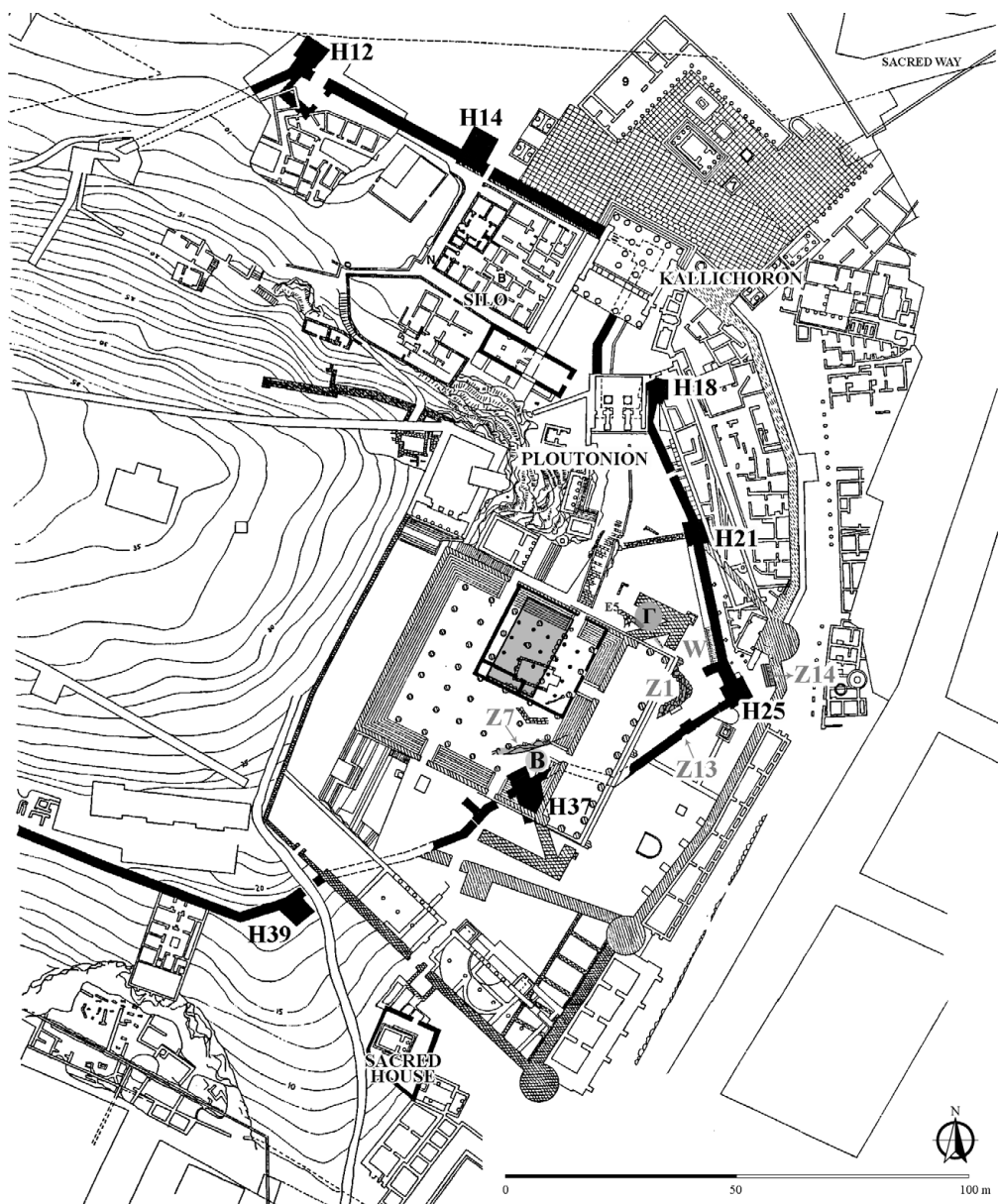
The earliest certain remains of religious activity of the historical period consist of the eighth-century pyre A in front of the south face of Wall E1 (Figure 72), succeeded by pyres B and Γ, which were in use down to the beginning of the sixth century. What is crucial here is the purpose of these pyres. In her meticulous analysis of the evidence, Kokkou-Viridi has shown that they could not have been ash altars, as they do not contain any animal bones, nor could they have been used to desacralize votive offerings, as the objects contained in them were not burned; the evidence points instead to *enagismoi*, nocturnal rituals for dead people or heroes, involving “destruction or removal sacrifices.”³⁸ In this respect, one possible explanation for the pyres is that they were meant to honor the dead or heroes that were associated with that particular location. Independently of the precise function of these pyres, the fact is that they do represent religious activity and show that rituals conducted in front of Megaron B had been firmly established by the middle of the eighth century; in this respect, the construction of Wall E1/E5 to support

an expanded terrace may be an expression of expansion of sacred space.³⁹ Thus, at this stage in the history of the site, the signs for cult activity are unequivocal; the reasons for which that particular location was chosen for cult activities in the eighth century, along with the wider framework for understanding the processes by which those cult activities were established in the eighth century, are discussed in the [final chapter](#) of this book.

THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

The architectural history of the sanctuary is better documented for the Archaic period, a time by which Eleusis has unequivocally been brought into the Athenian sphere of influence and become a deme of Athens and one of its major strategic outposts. The period is marked by intensive building activity, especially in the area of the Telesterion, where the Geometric terrace is enlarged sometime in the seventh century.⁴⁰ This enlarged terrace is supported by a new extension of the preexisting Wall E5 ([Figure 76](#), Z1): the extension runs toward the southeast for a length of approximately 25 m, then curves toward the west and continues in a southwest direction under and beyond the later Telesterion ([Figure 76](#), Z7).⁴¹ A pyre ([Figure 76](#), B) is installed in front of Wall Z7, replacing the earlier pyre A, which was covered when the expanded terrace was built.⁴² Pyre B is placed near a gap in the wall, which Mylonas and Kourouniotes interpreted as the probable entrance to the newly enlarged terrace.⁴³ At about the same time, another pyre, pyre Γ ([Figure 76](#), Γ), is installed on the north side of Wall Z1.

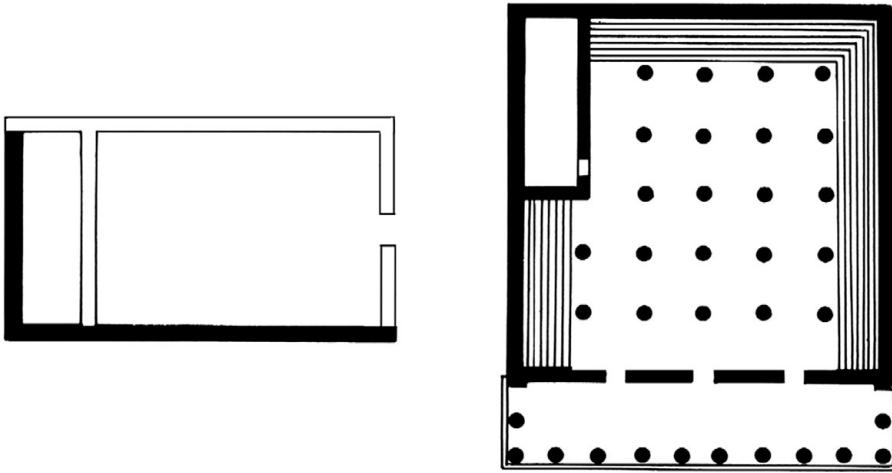
The purpose of the expanded terrace was to support a new temple to Demeter. This temple ([Figure 77](#), left) is rectangular, measuring approximately 24 m (north-south) x 14 m (east-west), with the entrance probably in the east side.⁴⁴ To the east, the building would have opened onto a court in which, on the basis of later evidence, two altars dedicated to Demeter and Persephone would have stood.⁴⁵ At the southwestern end of the interior of the temple Travlos and Mylonas restore a small room measuring approximately 3 x 12 m, used as the *adyton* where the *hiera* were kept; this room is widely known as the *Anaktoron*, although Clinton has argued that this term in antiquity meant the entire Telesterion, not just the inner sanctum of the temple.⁴⁶ To the east of the Telesterion, and adjacent to the eastern projection of the Archaic terrace, an additional altar was erected ([Figure 76](#), Z13); this altar seems to have belonged to the same arrangement as the stepped podium discovered by Kourouniotes next to the retaining wall of the terrace ([Figure 76](#), Z14).⁴⁷ Mylonas has interpreted this feature as a stand from which spectators watched a ritual that would have taken place in the court, perhaps dances in honor of Demeter.⁴⁸ Perhaps also associated with this ritual area is Well W ([Figure 76](#), W), the importance of which, either as a water source or a religious structure, is



76. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Archaic period.

emphasized by the construction of a niche in the retaining wall specifically to accommodate it.⁴⁹

Intensive construction takes place also in the second half of the sixth century, as a result of the active interest that the Peisistratids show in the sanctuary.⁵⁰ The earlier Archaic temple is replaced now by the more spacious Peisistrateian Telesterion (Figure 77, right), which will survive until the Persian invasion in 480 BC.⁵¹ The Peisistrateian Telesterion is roughly square and includes a



77. The Early Archaic (left) and Peisistrateian (right) Telesteria. By I. Travlos. Travlos Archives, Athens Archaeological Society.

portico and three entrances on the east side.⁵² The portico measures 27.15 m (north-south) x 4.55 m (east-west) and is adorned with a Doric entablature of Parian marble, of which fragments of triglyphs, metopes, and the cornice and sima, including a finely decorated ram's head, have been found.⁵³ The naos measures 25.30 x 27.10 m and is supported by twenty-two Ionic columns, four rows of five columns in the central and north parts of the hall, and one row of two columns in the south end, as at that point the roof is supported by the north wall of the Anaktoron.⁵⁴ The Anaktoron itself appears to have been slightly expanded to measure 12.50 m (east-west) x 3 m (north-south) and is incorporated in the southwest corner of the building; at its western end the rock projects about 0.32 m above the floor, a feature paralleled at the Altar of Demeter at Lykosoura.⁵⁵ Sets of nine steps are built on three sides of the interior, presumably to allow worshippers to view the rituals conducted within the building.⁵⁶

The two altars dedicated to Demeter and Persephone are assumed to continue to stand in the court to the east of the Telesterion, where the previous altars must have existed. Although physical remains of these two altars have not survived, Mylonas suggested that their placement at that location can be inferred on the basis of continuity to the two fifth-century altars that stood there.⁵⁷ Clinton questions the presence of the altars on the east side of the Telesterion and within the sanctuary, suggesting instead that the altars were placed outside the sanctuary proper, perhaps in the area of the later Roman forecourt.⁵⁸

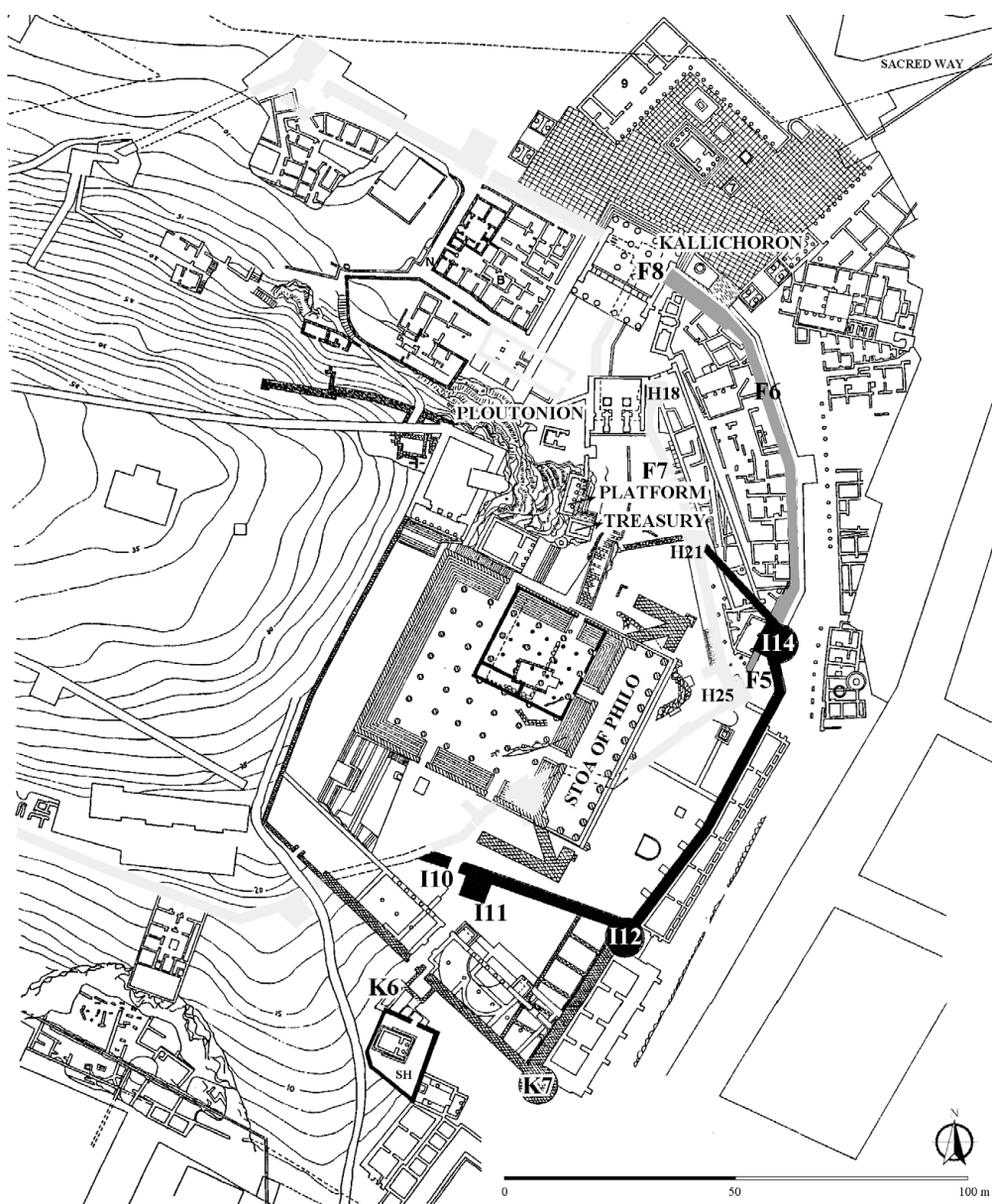
At the time of Peisistratos, the sacred area and also the city of Eleusis are enclosed by a long peribolos wall, with at least seven towers (Figure 76, H12, H14, H18, H21, H25, H37, and H39) and seven gates: the south pylis

(Figure 76, next to tower H39); the South Gate (Figure 76, by the tower H37); the North Gate under the Lesser Propylaea (Figure 76, next to tower H18); the Great Gate, which becomes the main gate of the sanctuary, in the northwest corner of the Peribolos (Figure 76, next to tower H12); and three gates not shown in Figure 76: the Gate on the route to Megara, a rear pylis opening seaward, and the Stadium Gate (not shown on Figure 77).⁵⁹ In the construction of this peribolos an effort is made to preserve older features of the sanctuary, including the altar associated with the area of the stepped podium, for which a niche is created in the wall itself.⁶⁰ Other construction of the late sixth century includes the Kallichoron well, approximately 40 m to the northeast of the North Gate (Figure 76),⁶¹ as well as the Ploutonion (Figure 76), a small temple with a cella measuring 2.90×2.50 m and a shallow porch, which is built in the opening in front of the cave behind the North Gate, elaborating the cultic topography with this long-standing landmark.⁶² Similarly, a service road leading from the North Gate to the southern part of the Archaic Terrace and from there to the South Gate, passing through an inner gate adjacent to the east end of the Archaic Terrace (Figure 76, immediately to the east of pyre Γ), serves further to formalize and regulate sanctuary traffic.⁶³ Perhaps less utilitarian in function, a building of undetermined plan is constructed at the time of Peisistratos in the area of the Geometric Sacred House (Figure 76, marked with a thick line), after the area had been leveled and a trapezoidal terrace built; it is enclosed by its own peribolos, and may have had pedimental sculpture, perhaps including the Running Maiden.⁶⁴ Finally, a rectangular building immediately to the northwest of the North Gate is probably a silo (σιρός) used for storing first-fruit offerings.⁶⁵

It appears that in the Archaic period the main approach to the city shifts from the south to the north, reflecting the new political realities of the period, which by now have brought Eleusis under the sphere of Athenian influence.⁶⁶ Along with the other buildings constructed during the Peisistrateian era, it is clear that this change marks a reorganization of the sacred landscape in order to highlight the route toward Athens and the relationship between Eleusis and this city. The cultural and political ties between Athens and Eleusis are expressed also in the first representations of the personification of the city of Eleusis on Athenian vase painting.⁶⁷

THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Sometime between 479 and 461 BC, a program for rebuilding the sanctuary is launched by Kimon, after the destruction by the Persians.⁶⁸ To expand the enclosed area to the east of the Telesterion a new peribolos wall is constructed, running from the Peisistrateian tower H25 toward the north and then toward the west and ultimately reaching the point where later the Greater Propylaea



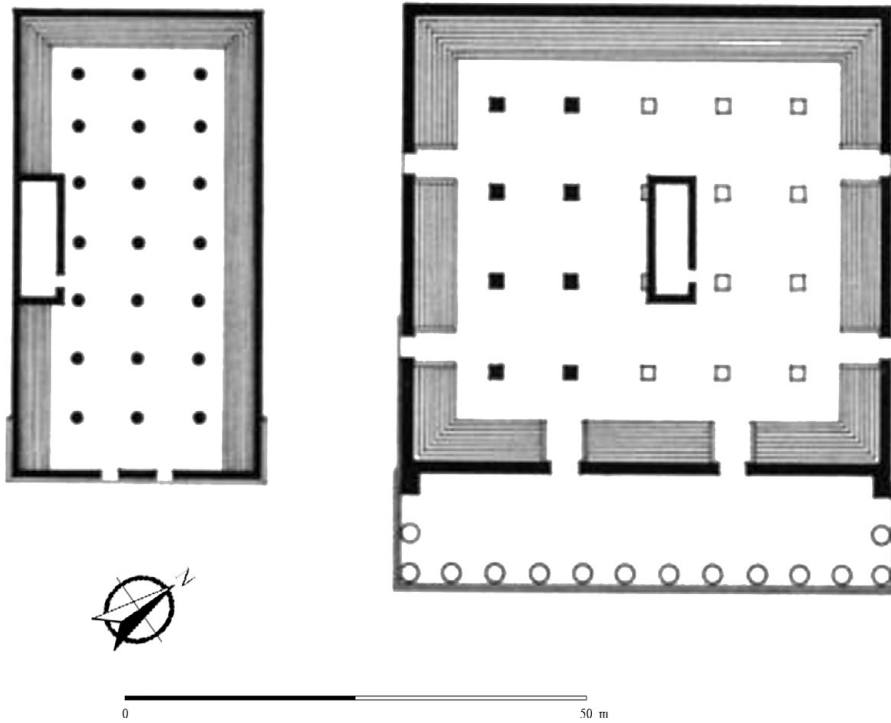
78. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Classical period.

would be built (Figure 78, F5–F6).⁶⁹ This wall creates an enlarged area approximately 110 m long (north–south) by 30 m wide (east–west), in which houses (presumably for those involved with sanctuary business) are built.⁷⁰ Access to this area is provided by two main gates: in the south, gate F5 – representing the oldest certain remaining propylon – and in the north, gate F8 in the area of the Greater Propylaea, between the northern termination of the Kimonian wall and the eastern side of the Peisistrateian wall, and probably corresponding

in design with the gate to the south (Figure 78, F8).⁷¹ An additional smaller gate (Figure 78, F7) is opened in the Peisistrateian wall between towers H18 and H21, to provide access between the new area enclosed by the so-called Kimonian extension and the Sanctuary; likewise, the interior gate under the Lesser Propylaea remains in use.⁷² Finally, portions of the area between the platform of the Telesterion and the Peisistrateian peribolos wall are filled in with soil, expanding the area of the platform itself.⁷³

Kimón also initiates the rebuilding of the Telesterion, which had been destroyed by the Persians. Although the structure was never completed, it appears that the intention was to enlarge it by about 17.50 m toward the west by means of digging into the bedrock on the eastern face of the hill.⁷⁴ The building, constructed of local limestone, has an elongated rectangular plan with seven rows of three (probably Ionic) columns, totaling a length of about 50 m (east-west) and a width of about 27 m (north-south) (Figure 79, left).⁷⁵ Rows of seven steps line the west, north, and south walls and frame symmetrically the Anaktoron, preserved in its ancient position and dimensions in the center of the south wall.⁷⁶

Following Kimón's ostracism, the construction of this Telesterion is discontinued and the plans for the building are completely overhauled under Perikleian leadership.⁷⁷ Strabo and Vitruvius preserve a tradition crediting Iktinos with the design of a new Telesterion, perhaps as part of Perikles's overall building program. At this time, the width of the Kimonian Telesterion is doubled toward the south, laying foundations for an almost perfectly square building, measuring 51.50 m (east-west) x 49.45 m (north-south).⁷⁸ It is made of poros stone, its roof is supported with four rows of five columns each, and an *opaion* is created in the center of the building. The walls are again lined with steps probably acting as viewing platforms, this time eight in number, while access patterns are shifted by the addition of two doors on each of three sides of the structure. For reasons unknown to us (although some scholars speculate that they had to do with construction difficulties, including particularly the wide spans between the columns and the incorporation of the *opaion*) Iktinos's plan is never realized.⁷⁹ In its place, another Telesterion is designed by three architects: Koroibos, Metagenes, and Xenokles (Figure 79, right). This Telesterion preserves Iktinos's general plan and overall dimensions (51.20 m north-south x 51.55 m east-west) but increases the number of internal columns from twenty to forty-two (six rows of seven columns each). The rectangular *opaion* is placed over the Anaktoron, which now lays approximately in the center of the building, though still walled off from the rest of the interior, occupying a space of about 14.20 x 5.60 m.⁸⁰ The *opaion* itself is supported by a second, upper level of columns resting on the more substantial lower level.⁸¹ Other Iktinian elements are preserved, including the eight steps lining the structure and the access routes through the six doorways. This structure,



79. The Kimonian (left) and Perikleian (right) Telesteria. By I. Travlos. Travlos Archives, Athens Archaeological Society.

perhaps because of its supposed architectural pedigree, will remain in use until well into the Roman period.⁸²

An expanded court is installed for the newly constructed Telesterion, annexing additional space up to a length of about 40 m to the east and south of the building.⁸³ The entire area is enclosed by a new thick peribolos, also partially serving as a retaining wall for the Telesterion platform (I10–I14 [Figure 78](#)).⁸⁴ This wall starts from the Peisistrateian tower H21, runs along the northeast and east side of the Telesterion (including tower I14), and then turns toward the west at tower I12. A gate with a formal propylon arrangement is opened in the south side (I10) and shortly after this point the peribolos appears to pick up the line of the Peisistrateian wall, although its southwest part will be demolished in the fourth century.⁸⁵ The primary entrance, however, continues to be at the north, where Giraud has suggested that the interior gate, beneath the later Lesser Propylaea (at H18), may have been elaborated at this time with architectural elements later reused in the Roman “Mithraion.”⁸⁶ In the northeast side of the wall, under tower I14, a new storage room for the *tithes*, the first offerings, is built.⁸⁷

In terms of burial grounds, the West Cemetery is, once again, reused, with both inhumations and cremations.⁸⁸ For the previous period, no graves had

been found in the West Cemetery, leading Mylonas to suggest a possible shift in burial area to the Sacred Way leading out of the sanctuary toward Athens; the Classical reuse of this cemetery clearly shows, however, that this shift was not absolute.⁸⁹

During the Peloponnesian War, the sanctuary seems to enjoy fewer benefactions, and Clinton calls this “one of the most difficult periods in its history.”⁹⁰ Building activity continues, however, in the fourth century. A new peribolos wall is built sometime in the second quarter of the century, and Mylonas gives a rough estimate between 370 and 360 BC.⁹¹ This project has been traditionally associated with Lykourgos, although the date proposed for the wall by Mylonas precedes the active years of the Athenian statesman.⁹² For the construction of this wall parts of the southern section of the Perikleian peribolos are demolished, and the south court is expanded considerably. The Lykourgeian wall runs from the Perikleian round tower I12 toward the south for a length of approximately 35 m and ends at the round tower K7.⁹³ From there it runs along the southern side of the Telesterion for another 32 m to end in the square tower K6. At the base of this tower a new South Gate is established, with a width of about four meters.⁹⁴ Beyond the gate, the wall continues to a distance of approximately 30 m to connect with the Peisistrateian peribolos. From this point, a thinner wall continues to the west all the way to the top of the hill to separate the sanctuary from the acropolis area.⁹⁵ Further repairs are carried out on the northern side of the peribolos, including the addition of another tower.⁹⁶

In front of the east side of the Telesterion, a platform begins to be constructed, but is eventually replaced by the Stoa of Philo.⁹⁷ This Stoa, named after its chief architect, seems to have been started under Lykourgos and completed under Demetrius of Phaleron.⁹⁸ This is a monumental portico, 54.50 m long (north-south) x 11.35 m deep (east-west), supported by fourteen Doric columns (twelve lining the eastern side with an additional column on each return). Neither the metopes nor the pediment are decorated, sculpturally or otherwise.⁹⁹ Also in the fourth century a stepped platform is built on the west side of the Sacred Way and next to the Ploutonion (Figure 78). At the highest point toward the west, reached via a series of eight steps, it forms a rectangular terrace measuring 9.50 (north-south) x 3.15 (east-west); this terrace may have been the place from which the initiates viewed a portion of the ritual.¹⁰⁰ At the southern part of this same stepped platform structure, a series of six steps forms the approach to another, less sizeable terrace supporting a small building (Figure 78). This structure has been tentatively identified as a Treasury.¹⁰¹ In the fourth century the adjacent Ploutonion, originally built in the Archaic period, is renovated and a peribolos wall is constructed in front of the opening of the cave to support a roughly trapezoidal court. In this area, a new Temple to Plouton is constructed (Mylonas suggested that the Peisistrateian one

had been destroyed by the Persians).¹⁰² To the north, the area of the Archaic Kallichoron well is also modified, including the tower and strengthening of the peribolos just mentioned, as well as the erection of a light wall around the well itself.¹⁰³ A number of auxiliary buildings, unfortunately too damaged by later construction to propose a more specific function, seem also to have been constructed to the northwest of the Greater Propylaea.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, to the south, a series of rooms along the inner east side of the fourth-century peribolos wall is built, and perhaps serves as a storage facility.¹⁰⁵ Finally, a number of cisterns are dated to this period, including the “tholos tomb” on the south side (shown in [Figure 17](#), left). This structure resembles a Mycenaean tholos tomb in form, leading earlier scholars to classify it as such; Kourouniotes, however, established its true date and function.¹⁰⁶

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Little construction is carried out during the Hellenistic period, a lull that is usually explained by the rapidly changing political footing of Athens at this time, particularly when compared with the well-known and elaborate building projects undertaken by Hellenistic *evergetes* in Athens itself.¹⁰⁷ A fortification wall is built on the west side of the summit of the hill in the early third century ([Figure 80](#), K30) probably enclosing the acropolis hill, while a relatively recently destroyed fortified outpost of triangular plan is established on an adjacent hill to the west.¹⁰⁸ A substantial rectangular building, identified early on as the Bouleuterion, is also constructed along the southeastern part of the fourth-century peribolos.¹⁰⁹ This structure is divided into three rooms, of which the central room is the largest, and further distinguished by a semi-circular wall at its southern side. It is fronted by a court. Lippolis associates the Bouleuterion with another portico-like structure – known from a single wall and dated to various periods – built against the peribolos wall to the west of the South Gate, suggesting that the two buildings formed part of the same project.¹¹⁰

A stadium attested in epigraphical sources has been tentatively located to the south, outside the peribolos of the sanctuary. Though Travlos proposed a date as early as the seventh century BC, the architectural features he used to locate it are Roman in date.¹¹¹ An Archaic date would be improbably early and would make this stadium one of the first in the Greek world, despite the fact that the inscription mentioning it dates to the fourth century BC.¹¹²

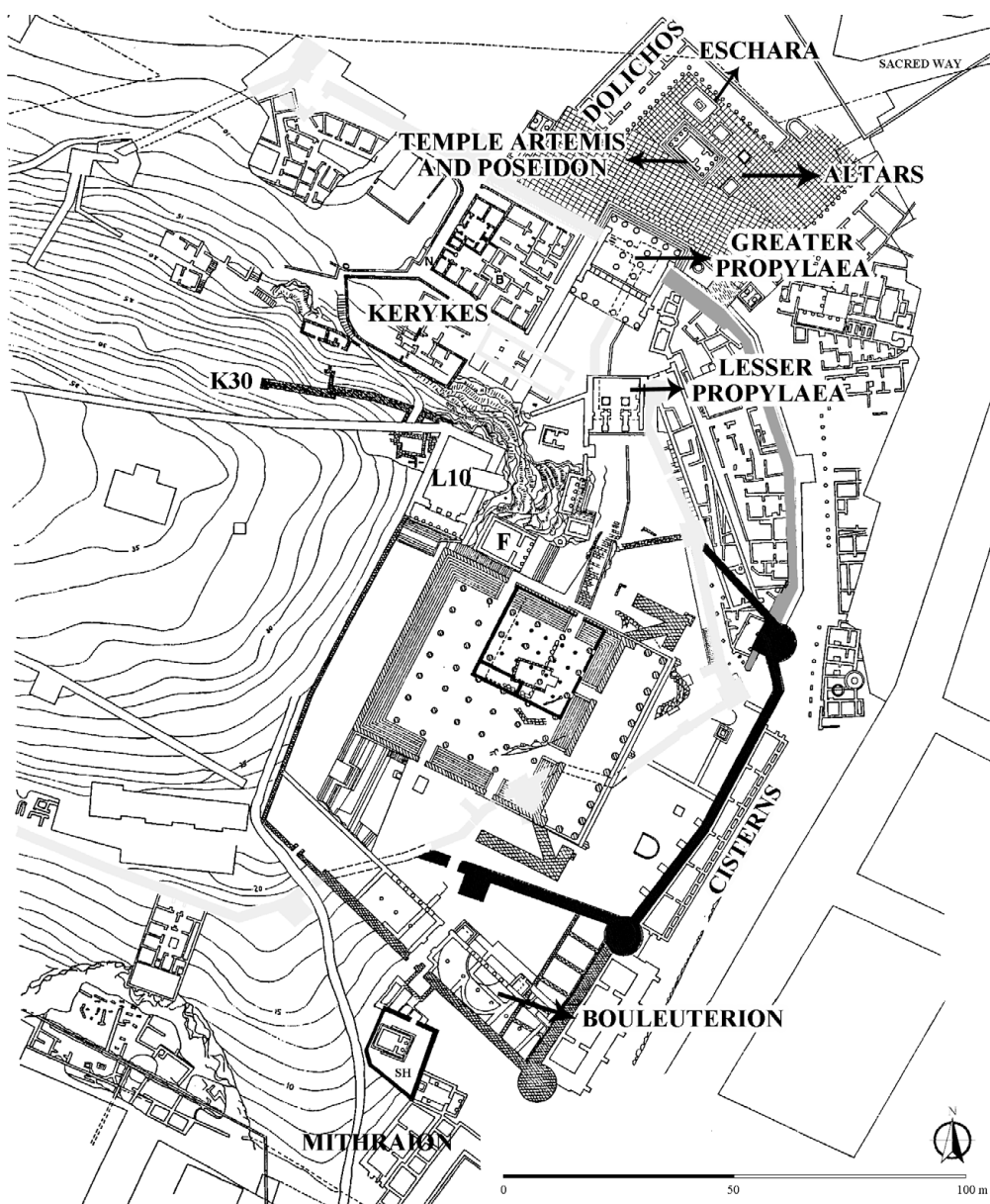
THE ROMAN PERIOD

The expansion of the cult in the Roman period leads to considerable building activity, most of which consists of restoring or replacing existing buildings,

especially after the destruction of the Sanctuary by the Costobocs around AD 170.

In the first century BC, the Lesser Propylaea, known from its Latin dedicatory inscription to have been a project initiated by Appius Claudius Pulcher, are constructed in the place of the Peisistrateian North Gate, or perhaps Giraud's proposed fifth-century propylon.¹¹³ It is adjoined to the north by a roughly square, paved court, about 10 m on each side, with a stepped entrance at the north. This court is enclosed on the west, east, and south sides by thin walls, on which Ionic columns are engaged (perhaps four on each side) supporting the entablature.¹¹⁴ The doorway is placed in the south side of the court, which would have accommodated a double-door opening and closing with rollers moving in deep grooves.¹¹⁵ On the north side, toward the outside of the Sanctuary, the doorway is framed by a distyle prothyron, supported by two innovative Corinthian columns.¹¹⁶ Here, the entablature consists of the Latin dedicatory inscription and a series of Doric triglyphs and metopes bearing relief decoration of *kistai*, wheat, and other objects related to the cult of Demeter.¹¹⁷ Highly unusual is the carved relief decoration of not only the metopes, but also of the triglyphs.¹¹⁸ The pediment is undecorated. On the south side, toward the interior of the Sanctuary, a second distyle prothyron is constructed, supported on this side by the two well-known Caryatids, one of which is now in the Eleusis museum and the other at Cambridge.¹¹⁹ At some later point in this building's history, two additional doors flanking the main entrance will be added.¹²⁰

The next period of significant renovation in the architectural history of the Sanctuary is that of the reign of Hadrian (r. AD 117–138).¹²¹ The Greater Propylaea, although likely to have been begun under Hadrian, seems not to have been finished until the Antonine period, probably during the rule of Marcus Aurelius, whose bust is featured in a clipeate portrait in the exterior pediment and whose name is probably listed in the dedicatory inscription.¹²² A single fragment of a second portrait may represent either Commodus or Hadrian.¹²³ Modeled after the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis, this monumental entrance gate is constructed over the Kimonian North Gate, oriented northeast-southwest toward Athens.¹²⁴ It has one wide, central entrance flanked by four smaller doors, and opens onto two porticoes, one facing the northeast (exterior) and one the southwest (interior). The exterior porch is essentially Doric in organization, particularly compared with the now "Lesser" Propylaea. It has six columns surmounted by a Doric frieze, and the pediment features the aforementioned portrait of Marcus Aurelius. Behind this façade, the roof of the portico is supported by six Ionic columns arranged in two rows framing the central door. Like the Athenian Propylaea, the ceilings are coffered. The interior portico forms a narrow stoa supported once more by six Doric columns, and opens onto the inner courtyard and the Lesser Propylaea.



80. Plan of the Sanctuary in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The large court in front of the Greater Propylaea is paved with rectangular marble slabs and represents the final part of the Sacred Way, which enters the court in the northeast.¹²⁵

Around the court a number of structures are erected in the Roman period, including several that can be associated with the major Hadrianic monumentalization of the space. Indeed, as several scholars, including most recently Longfellow, have argued, the forecourt and its associated structures appear to

have been planned as part of one project, albeit one carried out in multiple phases, demonstrated by the common orientation and the accommodation made for the buildings in the pavement.¹²⁶ These buildings include an elaborate fountain house on the southeast side of the court, probably a component of a larger Hadrianic water management project; to this same end are constructed cisterns around the court and to the southwest of the fourth-century wall (Figure 80),¹²⁷ as well as embankments to prevent flooding along the Kephisos and a bridge over the river.¹²⁸ Two triumphal arches, modeled closely after Hadrian's arch in Athens and dedicated by the Panhellenion, are diametrically placed on the southeast and southwest corners of the court and mediate access to the court from the city.¹²⁹ Likewise in the court to the north of the Greater Propylaea a Temple of Artemis and Poseidon is built, a Doric amphiprostyle structure of Pentelic marble, inspired according to Giraud by the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis.¹³⁰ An uncertain number of altars is situated in the court, including one in front of this temple and probably dedicated to the same deities. Another related structure, roughly rectangular in plan, contains an altar in the form of a well;¹³¹ on this well is placed an iron grill, the *eschara*, which names the structure, and which would have held the sacrifice (Figure 80).

These altars and the temple are framed by an L-shaped stoa, identified by Travlos as a hero-shrine to Dolichos, which may have provided facilities for ritual dining and further served to demarcate the court space (Figure 80).¹³² A number of other more utilitarian structures, including storage and administrative buildings, were erected in the area between the Peisistrateian and Kimonian walls on either side of the gate complex.¹³³ Finally, a possible priestly residence (the so-called House of the Kerykes) was built on the site of the Peisistrateian silo, to the west of the Lesser Propylaea, in an area with a number of other apparently domestic remains (Figure 80).¹³⁴

The emperor Marcus Aurelius (r. AD 161–180) carries on this tradition of imperial interest in the sanctuary and appears to be responsible for the major rebuilding necessitated by its destruction by the Costobocs in AD 170.¹³⁵ The entablature of the Stoa of Philo is repaired, the columns of the destroyed Telesterion are rebuilt, and the Telesterion itself is further enhanced – first, by an expansion 2.15 m to the west, for which the hillside had to be quarried; and second, by the addition of marble revetment for the seats.¹³⁶ As part of the same building program it seems that Marcus Aurelius has a stepped platform built in the south court (Figure 80, 4);¹³⁷ a long and wide terrace cut into the east side of the hill, directly above the Telesterion, with thirty steps ranging in width from 2.90 to 3.30 m; and lastly, a narrow stairway leading from the Sacred Way up to the terrace on the north side of the Telesterion. The two Roman temples built on the rock to the north of the Telesterion (Figure 80, F, L10) may have been built in the second century, probably under Antonine

patronage, and perhaps as a part of the same project that created the rock-cut terraces around the Telesterion. Temple F, on a specially constructed terrace almost immediately adjacent to the north wall of the Telesterion, may have been a temple to Sabina, Hadrian's wife,¹³⁸ whereas temple L10, a small Ionic structure located just to the west with a porch fronted by four columns in antis and a vaulted cella, is possibly dedicated to Faustina, the wife of Antoninus.¹³⁹ Finally, as noted earlier, works left incomplete are finished and elaborated under Antonine rule.

All this activity is generally limited to the central or northern area of the sanctuary; as many scholars have noted, these areas – and particularly the north, as the only portion of the sanctuary open to non-initiates – represent the optimum locations for architectural display.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, however, construction activity is also occurring to the south of the Telesterion. Within the sanctuary itself, the area of the South Gate is rearranged, including the construction of one or two buildings and two stoas on the spot of the Late Classical Bouleuterion.¹⁴¹ Private dwellings, including villa-like structures, proliferate on the south slope of the Eleusinian hill outside the Peisistrateian peribolos, and a shrine to Mithras may have been built to the south of the Geometric Sacred House, apparently at a rather late date (Figure 80).¹⁴²

The West Cemetery continues to be used throughout the period. Mylonas has remarked on the general poverty of the graves at this time, but also pointed out the discovery of a rich sarcophagus burial.¹⁴³ Eventually, in the Late Antique period, the cemetery shifts into the sanctuary itself.

THE END OF THE SANCTUARY

Following the Antonine period, very little major building appears to have taken place in the sanctuary, and Clinton observes a constant decline in dedications.¹⁴⁴ Its continuing importance at least as a military outpost is attested by the construction of a defensive wall that incorporated the porch of the Greater Propylaea.¹⁴⁵ After its destruction by Alaric's Visigoths in AD 395, Eleusis never recovers, and by the beginning of the fifth century CE the sanctuary goes out of use and the Mysteries seem to cease.¹⁴⁶

PART IV

THE ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THEORIES ABOUT THE ORIGINS OF THE MYSTERIES

DIFFUSIONIST THEORIES

The ancient Greeks did not have a clear notion of the origins of the Eleusinian Mysteries or the cult of Demeter. Herodotos, followed later by Diodoros Sikilos, traditioned that the Thesmophoria had been imported into Greece from Egypt and identified Demeter with Isis, whereas Plutarch equated Persephone with Isis.¹ These references to Egypt, as well as the discovery at Eleusis of the so-called Isis grave, led Foucart in the early twentieth century to suggest that the Eleusinian Mysteries had been imported from Egypt, reviving earlier ideas about an Egyptian derivation of Greek Mysteries.² Although this theory was refuted by Picard,³ it resurfaced in the 1980s in Martin Bernal's work, who saw similarities between the Eleusinian and Egyptian initiation rituals, as well as linguistic similarities between the terminology used in the Mysteries and certain words in ancient Egyptian.⁴

These revived attempts at establishing an Egyptian derivation of the Mysteries have been discredited for several reasons. First, the premise on which they rely (i.e., the identification of Isis with Demeter) is not tenable: Herodotos' connection was based on superficial similarities between the cults of Demeter and Isis, but in reality the essence of these two cults is radically different. Second, the Isis Mysteries (along with the agricultural element in the worship of this goddess) were imported into Egypt during the Hellenistic period and shaped under Greek influence, not vice versa.⁵ Third, the presumed

derivation of the Eleusinian initiation rituals from the Egyptian “Book of the Dead” is a conjecture, as the two have no known common elements.⁶ Fourth, the presence of the Isis figurine in the so-named Eleusinian grave only proves that the owner of the grave had traveled to Egypt; there is no archaeological evidence for any type of Egyptian ritual at Eleusis.⁷ As for Bernal’s linguistic connections, these have been shown to be vague and superficial and do not stand scrutiny.⁸

Another place that has been proposed as a possible origin of the Mysteries is Crete, a suggestion originally made by Persson and followed by Picard.⁹ The arguments behind the Cretan theory are literary, architectural, and archaeological. The literary argument is that in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* the goddess states that she has come from Crete.¹⁰ The architectural arguments put forward by Persson concern apparent similarities between (a) the Eleusinian Anaktoron and Minoan crypts, and (b) between the Telesterion and the theatral area of Knossos; additionally, for Picard, the square plan of the Telesterion derived from Cretan “pre-hellenic” buildings. The archaeological argument relates to the Eleusinian type of multiple vases called *kernos*, which Nilsson thought to have derived from Minoan multiple vases.¹¹

None of these arguments can stand scrutiny. In the *Homeric Hymn* Demeter mentions that she traveled to Eleusis from Crete because she was concealing her true identity. In Greek literature Crete is often used as the false place of origin of mythological figures concealing their identity: in the *Odyssey* alone, Odysseus adopts an imaginary personality originating in Crete no fewer than three times.¹² Because Demeter’s connection to Crete in the *Homeric Hymn* is fictional, there is no real foundation on which to base a connection in religious rituals.¹³ The architectural arguments are not valid, either. The Eleusinian Anaktoron cannot be compared to Minoan crypts, as it is not an underground chamber; the square plan of the Telesterion is introduced in the Peisistrateian period during the second half of the sixth century, therefore too late to be considered a parallel or derivation from seventeenth–sixteenth-century BC Minoan architecture, more than a thousand years before and without any intermediaries. Finally, the archaeological argument is unfounded: although *kernoi* do appear to have morphological similarities to Minoan multiple vases, the earliest examples of these vases do not occur before the Classical period and cannot, therefore, be taken to derive from Minoan prototypes.¹⁴ To the above, one must also add what is perhaps the most decisive argument against a Cretan connection: the total absence of Minoan imports or even noticeable influences at Eleusis during the Bronze Age.¹⁵

Three more places of origin for the cult of Demeter at Eleusis have been proposed.¹⁶ The first is Thrace: in the stories of the Eleusinian wars against Athens the Thracians are reported as allies and supporters of Eleusis, while

Eumolpos' family origins are said by Pausanias to have been in Thrace.¹⁷ The second is Thessaly, where two sanctuaries of Demeter – the sanctuary of Demeter at Pyrasos and the sanctuary of Amphictyonid Demeter at Pylae – were of considerable antiquity (probably dating back to the EIA) and could theoretically have been the ancestors of the Eleusinian cult.¹⁸ The third is an undefined area in south Greece: Kerényi, on the basis of a reference in the Orphic Hymns, which mentions that the Mysteries had been established by the sea nymphs, points “not explicitly to Crete, but only in a southern direction, toward the sea”, based on the general connection of south Greece with the sea.¹⁹

These three suggestions lack supporting evidence. The Thracian involvement in the war with Athens and the Thracian Eumolpos are based solely on vague mythological accounts, which is also the case with the connection with south Greece. As far as Thessaly goes, there is no connection with Eleusis either in mythology or archaeology; even if one accepts that the cult of Demeter had been established there by the beginning of the EIA, there is no evidence to suggest a southward spread of the cult.

What all these theories have in common is that they consider the Eleusinian Mysteries the result of diffusion of cult from another place, be it Egypt, Crete, Thessaly, Thrace, or south Greece. In the lack of credible evidence, none of these theories can explain the introduction of the cult of Demeter at Eleusis. Consequently, it is to indigenous developments that we must turn to explain the origins of the Mysteries.

INDIGENOUS DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

Existing theories about an indigenous development of the cult have been shaped by two anthropological models. Both of these models rely on the divine connection between the realm of the dead and the world of the grain and consider Demeter and Persephone historical descendants of prehistoric divinities associated with agriculture.

The first model explains the cycle of death and regrowth of vegetation in terms of myths about the death and resurrection of an agricultural deity.²⁰ It is an evolutionary model in that it asserts that, as civilization progressed, a more advanced soteriological element was added to primitive rituals that revolved around basic agricultural actions.²¹ In this respect, specific parallels have been drawn between Demeter/Persephone on the one hand and the Corn Mother/Maiden worshipped in northern Europe and around the world on the other, in the sense that the story of the Rape of Persephone may have been a natural allegory for the destruction of the corn.²² Along similar lines, the descent of Kore to the underworld has also been interpreted in terms of

the storing of the seed-corn in underground chambers.²³ The leap from the youthful corn sprouting out of the ground to the hope for a new life starting after the grave is not difficult to make.²⁴

The second anthropological model also considers the Eleusinian Mysteries descendants of prehistoric rituals intended to bring abundance of harvest,²⁵ but differs from the first model in that it associates them with tribal initiation ceremonies celebrating or commemorating transitions from one important stage in the life of the community or the individual to the next.²⁶ Such *rites de passage* have a restrictive character, in that they focus on specific (most commonly gender, social, or age) groups;²⁷ some Greek festivals could have developed out of tribal initiation rituals (e.g., the Thesmophoria from women's and the Theseia from men's rituals).²⁸ The restrictive element of such tribal initiation rituals would seem to agree with the restrictive character of the Mysteries in the sense that access to the Mysteries was not possible to just anyone, but only to those who had been initiated.²⁹

Archaeological support for an indigenous origin of the Mysteries has been proposed by the excavators of Eleusis, Kourouniotes and Mylonas, and articulated systematically by Mylonas on the basis of literary, historical, and archaeological arguments. The literary arguments are based on the *Parian Chronicle*, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, as well as references in Apollodoros and Aristotle, which, Mylonas had thought, placed the advent of Demeter at Eleusis in the Mycenaean period.³⁰ The historical arguments concern mainly the continuity of location, as the only plausible explanation for the construction of the later temples to Demeter at that particular spot was that the location has been sacred due to a preexisting religious building – a building that could only have been Megaron B.³¹ The archaeological arguments revolved around the presence of the platform and the peribolos wall, the purpose of which was to ensure the privacy of Megaron B.³² According to Mylonas, Megaron B was an early temple to Demeter housing the Mycenaean ancestor of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which continued uninterrupted through the Iron Age.

As discussed extensively earlier in the book, these views were criticized by Darcque, whose theory of a total break in the continuity of the use of the building and apparent lack of evidence for Mycenaean religious activities remained influential until recently.³³ Although we know now that the literary arguments for a Mycenaean origin of the cult of Demeter at Eleusis do not stand,³⁴ the recently completed analysis of the stratigraphy, architecture, and finds from Bronze Age Eleusis has provided clear evidence in support of Mylonas's archaeological arguments. During the Mycenaean period, not only was the Megaron B Complex used for religious rituals involving burned animal sacrifices, but it turns out that a gap in the material record between the end of the palatial period and the Early Iron Age does not exist: although evidence for cult in the Post-palatial period does not survive, it is important to note that

the site continues to be used. This use is significantly scaled down compared to earlier periods, but use of the Megaron B Complex continued through the Post-palatial period and the Early Iron Age.³⁵ The implications of these conclusions are discussed in the next section.

The theory of an indigenous development is also supported by Clinton, who proposes that the Mysteries developed locally, but were not the original cult practiced at Eleusis. Instead, he thinks that they were the product of later innovation, grafted on an earlier Demeter cult. A likely candidate for such a preexisting cult is the Thesmophoria, whose universality and early wide diffusion suggest great antiquity, at least as far back as the SubMyc and PG periods.³⁶ Along similar lines, Sourvinou-Inwood proposed that the Mysteries were really created in the sixth century, when a soteriological element was added to a preexisting agrarian cult.³⁷ Both of these theories are discussed in more detail in the [next chapter](#), but the final conclusion of this discussion is that the Mysteries were the product of indigenous development rather than external influences.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

MYCENAEAN CULT

The archaeological evidence suggests that in the Early Mycenaean period the Megaron B Complex was used both as the residence of an élite group and for religious rituals involving burned sacrifices of animals. The purpose of those rituals may have been either to enhance the bonds between the members of that group or to use Megaron B as a “controlled center of worship” that consolidated the authority of the group by allowing access only to its supporters.¹ The isolation of the compound from its surroundings by means of the peribolos would have also restricted attendance of the rituals, so in trying to identify the essence of the cult one must look for a cult with a restrictive character. In this respect, one possibility is that some agricultural deity may have been worshipped, possibly the *potnia siton*, although in that case the rituals would not have been harvest ceremonies, which typically are all-inclusive communal rituals. A second possibility is dead ancestor or hero worship, inferred from the later practice of burning animals as sacrifices to heroes. A third possibility is rites of passage, marking transitions from one important personal or communal life stage to the next, and restricting participation to specific groups (gender, social status, or age).²

The length of time during which religious rituals were practiced in the Complex cannot be determined with accuracy, and the reconstruction of the history of the use of the building is problematic. The evidence suggests that

religious rituals were held in the Complex starting in LH IIB and continued through LH IIIB, but there is no evidence for cult activity in LH IIIC.

PROTOGEOMETRIC AND GEOMETRIC CULT

In the PG period, use of the site shrank significantly but did not cease entirely, and the Megaron B Complex continued to stand and most likely to be in use. Direct evidence for religious activity during these periods does not exist, but the spread of the cult of *Demeter Eleusinia* to Ionia, possibly as early as the PG period, may suggest that by the eleventh century the cult of Demeter had already been established at Eleusis.³ Furthermore, because the festival of the Thesmophoria had already been introduced in the PG period, it is highly unlikely that it would not have been worshiped at Eleusis.⁴ The absence of physical remains of cult during the Post-palatial and PG periods does not suggest that religious rituals were not practiced, but simply that those rituals materialized “in forms and at levels too close to daily life to have left any identifiable traces.”⁵ Furthermore, any imprint that those rituals would have left on the physical record of the site (a record that, because of the decline of its use, was too small to begin with) has been obliterated by the thousands of years of construction that followed.

The first concrete remains of religious activity of the historical period date to the middle of the eighth century, when pyre A was established. This pyre, along with pyres B and Γ that succeeded it, continued to be used down to the fifth century and contained the remains of *enagismoi*, nocturnal rituals with a chthonic character. Since Persephone had been established as the queen of the dead already by the ninth century and since her core myth was likely to have originated at Eleusis,⁶ it is possible that those rituals were associated with an early cult of Persephone/Kore.⁷ By this time cults of Demeter have appeared in other major sanctuaries⁸ and, as mentioned earlier in the book, the Thesmophoria have been introduced. It is possible that it is in this period that the inseparable character of Demeter and Persephone develops.

The establishment and use of pyres A–Γ from the eighth until the fifth century at that particular spot of the Eleusinian hill requires explanation, as it shows a remarkable persistence of location over the course of several centuries.⁹ There could be two possible reasons for this persistence: (1) practical, if the particular location had allowed easy construction; and (2) cultural/religious, if the particular location had been a sacred space. The first possibility has already been shown by Mylonas to be invalid, as the steepness of the slope and the hardness of the bedrock make that location unsuitable for construction. In fact, the opposite is true: because of these adverse conditions, construction required considerable and, from the practical point of view, unnecessary investment

in labor and expense.¹⁰ Because the selection of that particular spot for the historical cult was made *despite* the topography, a cultural/religious explanation for the sacred character of the site must be sought.

THE SANCTIFICATION OF MEGARON B

We saw from the earlier discussion that Megaron B was still standing and visible when Wall E₃ and pyre A were established. The existence of older buildings and the continued human presence at that spot from the eleventh to the eighth century suggest that when pyre A was installed, it was placed in a landscape *with clear and visible remains of the past*. Considerable work conducted recently in the field of cultural memory has established that in these cases, the interpretation of past material remains is influenced by the needs and conditions of the present.¹¹ It is the present that invariably shapes the past, as buildings, monuments, locations, and objects acquire mnemonic significance: they are remembered and reinvented to fulfill a specific ideological function that reflects how people of the present view the past. Often the mnemonic significance of remnants of the past is affected by selective selection and simplification of a more complex reality.¹² The result of this process is the creation of mnemotechnical devices charged with ideological meaning – things and places conjuring specific memory images. These constitute Pierre Nora’s “sites of memory” (*lieux de mémoire*) and “objects of memory” (*aides-mémoires*); these are defined as material and/or nonmaterial manifestations of memory and can include anything from geographical locations, monuments, and artifacts, to texts and concepts.¹³ These serve to preserve the Cultural and Communicative Memory of a group.

Lieux de mémoire are not static entities, but products of dynamic processes, constantly reinterpreted and reinvested with new meaning, becoming “self-perpetuating vortexes of symbolic investment”,¹⁴ recycling and reaffirming “the cultural capital of a society.”¹⁵ In this respect, any site can be converted to a *lieu de mémoire* if it acquires a commemorative function expressed in a set of rituals and if this commemorative use becomes formalized and is adjusted to the periodization of the calendar.¹⁶ *Lieux de mémoire* are places and buildings where groups of people engage in public activity, through which they express “a collective shared knowledge . . . of the past; it is on such knowledge that a group’s sense of unity and individuality is based.”¹⁷ *Lieux de mémoire* are defined in terms of three criteria:¹⁸ (1) material, in the sense that they objectify a specific memory; (2) functional, in the sense that they must have a practical usefulness in society; and (3) symbolic, in the sense that they are sanctified,¹⁹ invested with a “symbolic aura” manifested in ritual. The combination of these three criteria (objectification, sanctification, and practical use) suggest that by the time of pyre A the Megaron B Complex had become a *lieu de mémoire*, the

carrier of the local cultural memory and the generator of what Assmann calls “foundational history” (*fundierende Geschichte*).²⁰

In general, sacred spaces belong to three types.²¹ *Mysticoreligious* spaces are places of taboo or sanctity, where people communicate with the divine and are often connected to locations important to the lives of the gods/goddesses worshipped there. *Homelands* are tied to legends and stories connecting the origins of a family, a clan, or a nation to a particular location. *Historical* spaces are established where there are monuments of the past considered central to the identity of a group. In the case of the pyres in front of the Telesterion, because their location is not associated with any of the locations that were linked with the story of Demeter and Kore (be that the Mirthless Rock or the Kallichoron well or the Ploutonion), it would appear that the reasons for the sanctity of the location were not mysticoreligious. This specific location was also not a homeland, as local Eleusinian foundation myths considered the first inhabitants of Eleusis autochthonous but did not connect them to the Telesterion.²² The third possible explanation – that the pyres were installed in a place that had become sacred for historical reasons – seems more probable.

The process of sanctification of a building is also affected by its physical appearance and its place in the landscape, which distinguish it from the surrounding buildings.²³ The sanctification, then, of the Megaron B Complex in the Early Iron Age may have been the result of complex processes involving cultural memory affected by the existence of a historical building. Indirect evidence for the preservation of cultural memory at Eleusis is also provided by the well-known inscribed stirrup jar (EL Z 1), whose inscription includes the sign *wa-*, an abbreviation of *wa-na-ka-te-ro*. Whether the sign is a noun or an adjective,²⁴ the fact that such a specialized term was known at Eleusis during the Mycenaean period and was subsequently adopted in the centuries that followed to designate either the holy part or even the entire Telesterion²⁵ indicates continuity in *specialized vocabulary* – another expression of cultural memory.²⁶ Notwithstanding the semantic changes that some Mycenaean terms undergo in the Early Iron Age,²⁷ there is a set of religious terms that survive unaltered into the historical period.²⁸ In the end, however, continuity in specialized vocabulary exists independently of whether the initial meaning of a term changes or remains unaltered with the passage of time.

When all the evidence is considered, the issue of whether or not from the eleventh to the eighth century the Complex had retained only a secular function²⁹ is irrelevant. It is now a well-established fact that what mnemonic communities (families, ethnic and social groups, even nations) remember from their past is not objective, but rather a product of sociopolitical circumstances – returning to the principle that the present shapes the past.³⁰ Historical realities may or may not be preserved accurately by the remembering agents. At the

dawn of the Iron Age, the Megaron B Complex served as a territorial marker, was assigned a commemorative function, and was invested with a symbolic “aura” expressed in the rituals of pyre A. The dominant reason for the sanctification of its location was not that it had been carrying memories of an older cult, but that it was a still standing historical place. In this respect, the possibility that the enagismoι expressed in pyre A honored the dead ancestors or heroes associated with the Megaron B Complex should be seriously considered.

The Megaron B Complex is not an isolated case of a *lieu de mémoire* in Early Iron Age Greece. There is a number of other sites where the memory of the Mycenaean past led to the sanctification of historical buildings and places, as Maran has eloquently demonstrated for Tiryns³¹ and as both de Polignac and Antonaccio have shown for Early Iron Age sanctuaries and tombs.³² During this period, ruins from the Mycenaean period were being rediscovered and used to connect the present with a prestigious past. This process of “political or ideological functionalization of the past”³³ during the Geometric period was not shaped by the preservation of Mycenaean religious traditions, but by reinvesting Mycenaean historical sites with entirely new meanings. In either case, the bond with the Mycenaean past is unquestionable. Because EIA sanctuaries are placed on top of Mycenaean sites, even though for many cases evidence for Mycenaean cult does not exist, one must conclude that it was the antiquity of a site (the “historical reasons” discussed earlier in the book), not the memory of preexisting religious rituals, that led to their sanctification. In this respect, it is not necessary to demonstrate continuity in religious rituals; continuity consists of the reuse of an ancient site.

THE ADDITION OF THE SOTERIOLOGICAL ELEMENT

What made the Eleusinian cult a “Mystery Cult” was the initiatory/soteriological element that, it is generally agreed, was grafted onto the earlier cult. When and by which processes did this happen?

There are no indications for a soteriological element at the time of the establishment of the Geometric pyres. The rituals of the pyres lack the restrictive character of the Mysteries, as the pyres were installed on the outside of the Geometric wall and thus were easily accessible to anyone. Sometime around the beginning of the sixth century the sanctuary underwent a major architectural reorganization;³⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood considered this reorganization a result of the addition of a soteriological element to the preexisting cult, a process triggered by changing attitudes toward death and funeral ideology (see discussion that follows). Andokides’s reference to a “Solonian” law regulating the Mysteries suggests that by the 590s, one thread of Eleusinian theology had

already branched out and morphed into the Eleusinian Mysteries.³⁵ Furthermore, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (in which the hope for a better afterlife is explicitly mentioned) was composed around the end of seventh or the beginning of the sixth century; this suggests that by that time the theology of Eleusis had already been imbued with a soteriological element. The evidence indicates that the cult of Demeter was enriched with a soteriological element and became a Mystery cult sometime during the seventh century.³⁶

The processes that led to this transformation can be explained in terms of the changing sociopolitical conditions of the early Archaic period, especially the development of the polis and the emergence of individualism. The angst caused by the political instability in Athens, coupled with the increasing awareness of the uniqueness and separateness of the individual, was a major factor in a shift of attitudes toward death,³⁷ as the Homeric idea of the soul as an unconscious and empty entity gave way to the view of the soul as an immortal being worthy of a better afterlife.³⁸ Another factor may have been Orphism, whose Eleusinian school connected the hope for a better afterlife with the cult of Demeter.³⁹ These two factors led to the addition of a soteriological element to the preexisting chthonic-and-fertility theology of Eleusis, resulting in the creation of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

CONCLUSION: STAGES IN THE FORMATION OF THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

In its long history, Eleusinian theology evolved and changed. The development of this theology from the Mycenaean to the Archaic period can be reconstructed in terms of three stages:

1. The first stage can be identified with the Mycenaean rituals held at the Megaron B Complex. It appears that, as early as the fifteenth century CE, burned animal sacrifices in a restrictive setting were used by the élite group residing in the Complex as a mechanism for consolidating the bonds between its members.
2. The second stage took place in the course of the Post-palatial and PG periods when, through processes involving Cultural Memory, the Megaron B Complex became a *lieu de mémoire*. These processes led to the sanctification of the Complex and of its location, so that by the eighth century rituals of *enagismo* were introduced at that location. Those *enagismo* may have been associated with Persephone, who by that time had been established as the Queen of the Dead, and must have been parallel to the fertility festival of the Thesmophoria that was conducted at Eleusis since the beginnings of the EIA. In this respect, by the end of the Geometric

period and the beginning of the Archaic, the theology at Eleusis had acquired a double dimension honoring fertility (Thesmophoria) and the dead (Pyres A, B, Γ).

3. The third and final stage was the addition of the initiatory/soteriological element in the seventh century, at which point the cult crystallized in its Mystic version.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE*

Early Bronze Age	Early Helladic I	3100/3000–2650
	Early Helladic II	2650–2200
	Early Helladic III	2200–2100/2050
Middle Bronze Age	Middle Helladic I	2100/2050–1900
	Middle Helladic II	1900–1800
	Middle Helladic III	1800–1700/1675
Late Bronze Age	Late Helladic I	1700/1675–1635/1600
	Late Helladic IIA	1635/1600–1480/1470
	Late Helladic IIB	1480/1470–1420/1410
	Late Helladic IIIA ₁	1420/1410–1390/1370
	Late Helladic IIIA ₂	1390/1370–1330/1315
	Late Helladic IIIB	1330/1315–1200/1190
	Late Helladic IIIC	1200/1190–1075/1050
Protogeometric	SubMyc	1075/1050–1025
	Early PG	1025–1000
	Middle PG	1000–960
Geometric	Late PG	960–900
	Early Geometric	900–850
	Middle Geometric	850–760
Archaic	Late Geometric	760–700
		700–479
		479–323
Classical		323–146
Hellenistic		146 BC–AD 394
Roman		

* Bronze Age dates from Manning 2010, 23, table 2.2. All dates are BC, unless otherwise indicated.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Some of these cults were sponsored by the polis. For the wider issue of the control exercised by the polis on different spheres of religious activity, see the discussion in Parker 2011, 57–61, with extensive references; for recent social network approaches drawing a less rigid separation between networks of ritual activity, see Bremmer 2010a and Eidinow 2011. Cf. Kindt 2012, ch. 1.
2. The bibliography on ancient Mystery Cults is vast. See Burkert 1987; Meyer 1999, 13–14; Scarpi 2002; Cosmopoulos 2003a; Bowden 2010; Kindt 2012, 1–8; and the preface in Bremmer 2014, with a succinct discussion of the history of scholarship on the issue. For the view that the Eleusinian Mysteries did not include an eschatological/soteriological element, but rather focused exclusively on agricultural wealth, see Bremmer 2014, 18–20.
3. Parker 2011, 254.

CHAPTER 1

1. Fr. 52; Richardson 1974, 82.
2. Graf 1974, 18, n. 68; Clinton 1992, 75–78. Dem. *Ag. Neaera* 117; Isokr. *Paneg.* 157. The earliest reference to Eumolpos is in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (ls. 154, 475), where he is listed as one of the powerful kings of Eleusis. Apollodoros (3.14.4) writes that Eumolpos was a son of Poseidon; Isokrates (*Panath.* 189; *Paneg.* 68) and Lykourgos (*Ag. Leocrates* 98) consider him a Thracian. The Suda (s.v. Εὐμόλπος) considers him a poet, son of Musaeus and author of a long poem about the establishment of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Richardson 1974, 79, 273). Clinton and Palagia (2003) have, however, pointed out that there may have been two personalities with the name Eumolpos: the founder of the Eumolpidae and the

king who campaigned against Athens (below, p. 15) and that Eumolpos the poet, whether regarded as autochthonous Eleusinian or Thracian, should not be confused with Eumolpos the king (Harding 2008, 214; Sonnino 2010, 63–87). Sonnino (*op. cit.* 67–68) suggests plausibly that it was Eumolpos's hierophantic role as singer that may have led to his association with the Thracian singers Thamyras, Orpheus, and Musaeus. In genealogical terms, the singer is separated by a generation or more from the king (*ibid.* 83–87). Cf. Phot. *Lex.* ε 2251 Theod.: ὁ μὲν ἐκ Θράκης ἐπιστρατεύσας, ὃν οὐ προσποιοῦνται οἱ Εὐμόλπιδαι.

3. There is another tradition about Keryx, that he was the son of Hermes and Aglauros (Paus. 1.38.3).
4. Clinton 2004a.
5. For the founding of Eleusis by Ogygos, see Paus. 9.5.1; for the founding of Thebes, see Varro, *Re Rust.* 3.2.12. In some sources, Ogygos rules Thebes during a great flood (Burkert 1983, 132; Harding 2008, 19).
6. Clement makes Daeira the wife of Eumolpos and mother of Immarados. For Daeira, see Moraux 1959, 30–38 and, more recently, Johnston 2013, 381–383, with further references.
7. Hyg. *Fab.* 147; Serv. *Verg. G.* 1.19. Pausanias (1.38.7) traditions that Eleusinus's father was Hermes.
8. Hesych. *Lexicon*, s.v. Σαισαρία; Paus. 1.38.3; cf. Kerényi 1991 [1967], 23.
9. Paus. 9.24.2 (Kopais); Strabo 9.2.18 (Triton). The city of Eleusis near Kopais was destroyed by a flood (Paus. 9.24.2), but it is unclear whether this was supposed to be the flood during Ogygos' reign and whether the founding of Eleusis in Attica by Ogygos was a result of that flood.
10. Lavecchia 2013, 70–71. The references to Herakles's initiation are discussed in Matthews

- 1974, 117. For the Boeotian Eubouleus, see Bonnecherre 2003, 181–182.
11. The story is popular among Greek and Roman writers, as well as in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Victorian and Modernist poetry. For overviews of the use of the myth in ancient and modern literature, see Richardson 1974, 68–73; H. Foley 1994, 153–167; Louis 2009; Hurst 2012; Levitz 2012.
 12. Kallichoron and Parthenion in the Homeric Hymn, Anthion in Pamphos' hymn. Richardson (1974, 327–328) and Clinton (1992, 28–29) agree that both names refer to one and the same well that may have had two names.
 13. The names and even the number of Keleos's daughters differ from one version to the next. In the Attic/Orphic versions there are three daughters, whose names are either Kalliope, Kleisidike, and Damonassa (Orphic) or Saesara, Diogeneia, and Pammerope (Pamphos's version, probably reflecting local Eleusinian legend); in the Homeric Hymn version there are four: Kallidike, Kleisidike, Demo (possibly short for Demonassa), and Kallithoe. See Richardson 1974, 183.
 14. Hes. *Th.* 913–914; Hom. *Il.* 9. 569; *Od.* 10.534.
 15. It should be noted, however, that the case for a Hymn by Pamphos is uncertain, as the poem is not extant; for Pamphos, see Richardson 1974, 74; Currie 2011, 190.
 16. Zuntz 1971, 79, with further references.
 17. For Pamphos, see Paus. 8.37.9; 7.21.9; 9.29.8. Richardson 1974, 74–75; Parker 1991, 5; H. Foley 1994, 97–103; but see Clinton 1992, 13. For the Attic-Ionic elements in the Homeric Hymn (such as the use of *n*-mobile before a consonant), see Janko 2007, 198.
 18. Richardson 1974, 150, 178–179.
 19. See the discussion of the Orphic versions in Richardson 1974, 79–86.
 20. For the iconographic representations of this version, see Clinton 2010, 351.
 21. The standard publications of the *Hymn to Demeter* are Richardson 1974 and Foley 1994. See also Mylonas 1942. The medieval (probably fifteenth century) manuscript with the poem was discovered in a stable in Russia in 1777 and probably originated in the Russian Imperial Archives in Moscow; for the fascinating story of its discovery, see von Gebhardt 1898. For a review of scholarship on the Homeric Hymns, see Faulkner 2011b, 2. Cf. Clay 1989; S. Shelmerdine 2000; Crudden 2001; West 2003; Athanassakis 2004; Rayor 2004; Ruden 2005; Hine 2008, 95–105; Clay 2011.
 22. For the date of the composition of the Hymn, see Faulkner 2011b, 10; Richardson 2011, 49. Foley (1994, 29) suggests a range between 650 and 550 BC. For orality and the use of formulaic elements in the *Homeric Hymns*, see J. Foley 1997; Richardson 2011, 49–50; Faulkner 2011b, 4; for the use of hexameter, see Furley 2011; for the evolution of the *Hymns*, see Clay 2011.
 23. Eleusinia: Richardson 1974, 12; Balletys: Walton 1952, 109, n. 16. For elements of oral tradition adopted by the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, see J. Foley 1997, 213.
 24. Clay 1989; for a different interpretation, see Clinton 1992, 36, n. 112, who sees in Zeus's actions simply a favor to a brother who needed a wife.
 25. Murnaghan 2005, xiii.
 26. N. Evans 2010, 106.
 27. Hillman 1979, 27; Hannan 2005, 108.
 28. The bibliography on the feminist interpretations of the myth is extensive. See especially Foley 1994, 79–83, 103–137; Chodorow 1994; Kleedt 2004, 33; Hannan 2005. For the possibility that a female poet composed the Hymn, see Sutter 2011 [2005]. Sutter (2002, 23–48) sees in the story of Demeter and Persephone the “core” story of the Hymn, placed against a later story that revolves around the deal between Zeus and Hades, which she calls the “Olympian frame.”
 29. Neumann 1974, 319; for a different interpretation, see Suter 2002, 96.
 30. C. Jung 1941; Jung and Kerényi 1949; Neumann 1974; Kerényi 1991 [1967]; Kleedt 2004, 49–50.
 31. Neumann 1974, 308–310; Perkins 1996; Beck 2001, 72–73.
 32. Foley 1994; Beck 2001; Zaidman 2012. The story really hinges on Demeter's actions, although the drama of Persephone unravels in the background and eventually finds its resolution thanks to Demeter. Such “two-track,” interconnected structures in literature are paralleled in south Slavic songs (J. Foley 1997, 212).
 33. See p. 12.
 34. As we saw earlier (n. 2 in this chapter), this is not the hierophant by the same name.
 35. The main sources are Thuc. 2.15; Paus. 1.27.4, 1.36.4, 1.38.3; and Apollod. 3.15.4–5. For an overview of other references to this war in

- ancient Greek literature, see Mylonas 1961, 25, n. 10. See also Picard 1931; Lavelle 2005, 257, n. 58; Harding 2008, 214–215.
36. Paus. 1.36.4; Burkert 1983, 143–148; Walker 1995, 99. For the agricultural setting of the festival of Skira, see Foxhall 1995, 105; Robertson 1996a, 55–56; Kledt 2004, 152–187, esp. 155–157.
 37. Paus. 1.31.3, 2.14.2, 7.1, and 7.5. Strab. 8.7.1.
 38. Plut. *Thes.* X.
 39. Harding 2008, 214.
 40. Mylonas 1961, 25–26; along similar lines, see Padgug 1972; Whitley 1988, 177, n. 30.
 41. Thuc. 2.15.1–2; Plut. *Thes.* 24; cf. Steinbock 2013, 170.
 42. Anderson 2003, 141–146 and 2007, 103–104, 120.
 43. Bremmer 2012, 31, nn. 69–73, with further references.
 44. Picard 1931, 51, n. 5; Sealey 1976, 92–95; Moggi 1976, 78, n. 56; cf. Lavelle 2005, 32 and Harding 2008, 213; Faulkner 2011b, 10, n. 48.
 45. Kullmann 1960, 76–77; Walker 1995, 15.
 46. Bronze Age: Walker 1995, 5–7; Padgug 1972. Early Iron Age: Diamant 1982; Simms 1983; Osborne 1985, 251, n. 34. Eight or seventh century: Moggi 1976, 67. Sixth century: Lavelle 2005, 32. See also Parker 1996, 12–13, n. 10 for further references. Cf. N. Evans 2010, 118. It is, of course, possible that Eleusis was brought under Athenian rule twice, having regained its independence after an initial occupation (Lavelle 2005, 256, n. 60). See also the discussion of the issue of the incorporation of Eleusis by Athens and how this may have affected the communication routes and location of the civic center in Athens in Papadopoulos 2003, 285–286. For the possibility that the tradition about the synoecism reflects a political unification of Mycenaean principates rather than a physical unification of settlements, see Pantelidou, 1975, 237–239; Cosmopoulos, 2014c, 183.
 47. Mills 1997, 232; Steinbock 2013, 170.
 48. Paus. 1.39.2. Also mentioned in Plut. *Thes.* 29.5. For the myth, see Parker 1996, 137–139; Mills 1997, 229–234; Grethlein 2003, 109–199; Morwood 2007, 1–31, with further references.
 49. Mylonas 1975, B, 262–264; Coldstream 2003 [1977], 351; Burkert 1985, 203.
 50. Antonaccio 1995, 113–117. See the detailed discussion later in the book, p. 138.
 51. Steinbock 2013, 169.
- ## CHAPTER 2
1. See n. 11 in Chapter 1.
 2. Parker (2005, 332) speaks of an “Eleusinian ideology”; cf. Clinton 1992, 7–8; Nixon 1995, 92.
 3. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 2, lines 471ff., 480ff., 486ff. See the discussion in Chapter 1, p. 23. Cf. Richardson 1974, 15; Parker 2011, 254.
 4. Isokr. *Paneg.* 28.
 5. Foxhall 1995, 101, 106; Kledt 2004, 83–84; Parker 2005, 332.
 6. Parker 2005, 329.
 7. Skov 1975.
 8. Kledt 2004, 148–152.
 9. Parker 2005, 330. The *Calamaia* were probably celebrated in mid- rather than late summer; the etymology of the word comes from *calame* (grain stem); the question is to what stage of the life of the *calame* the festival relates. I thank Professor Robert Parker for this piece of information.
 10. Simms 1975; Clinton 1979; Parker 2005, 328–329; Clinton 2008a, 263–265; Rigsby 2010. Sometimes the Eleusinia are confused with the Eleusinian Mysteries (e.g., Taylor-Perry 2003), a confusion that goes back to late antiquity, but these are two separate festivals.
 11. It is generally thought that it is Triptolemos who is represented in the Great Eleusinian Relief (Mylonas 1961, 193); other theories include Eumolpos (Harrison 2000), Demophon (Simon 1985, 97–98), or the hearth-initiate (Ridgeway 1981, 138–141), but the most convincing suggestion is that he represents Ploutos (Clinton 1992, 38–55; Clinton and Palagia 2003).
 12. Mylonas 1961, 20–21; Matheson 1994. For the connection of the myth with the *Eleusinia*, see Simms 1975, 274.
 13. Robertson 1996b; Parker 2005, 330.
 14. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 2, ll. 265–267. See Richardson 1974, 246–247; Parker 2005, 329. For the location, see Mylonas 1961, 140–141.
 15. At least fifty cities, towns, and villages are recorded as locations where the Thesmophoria were celebrated (Nilsson 1906, 313–316; Farnell 1906, 328–332). For the Thesmophoria in Attica, see Clinton 1996. At Eleusis, a sacred calendar (*SEG* 23.80) records costs for various festivals, including the Thesmophoria, which suggests that the festival was also celebrated there (Dow and Healey 1965, 36; cf. Dillon 2013, 116–117). Mikalson (1977, 426) thinks

- that the festivals mentioned in this calendar, including the Thesmophoria, were celebrated in Athens, but there is reasonable evidence to argue for a local Eleusinian festival.
16. Ruscillo 2013, 190.
 17. Clinton 1988a, 73–76; 1992, 29; for relevant iconographic evidence, see Tiverios 2008.
 18. Clinton 1993, 113–114, fig. 6.2.
 19. The bibliography on the Thesmophoria is vast: for succinct accounts with further references, see Burkert 1985, 242–246; Clinton 1996; Kleid 2004, 114–147; Lippolis 2006, 12–23; Mikalson 2010, 133–134; Dillon 2013, 110–120. The traditional model of explaining this festival in terms of fertility induced through “sympathetic magic” (Frazer 2012 [1912], 17) has remained pivotal in understanding the meaning of the rituals (*cf.* Versnel 1994, 236; Simon 1982, 20–21; Robertson 1995; Parker 2005, 275–277), although modern scholarship has highlighted the inadequacies of this model (Lowe 1998) and the polyvalence of the meanings of the festival (Chlup 2011 [2007]).
 20. Parker 2005, 275–276.
 21. Lowe 1998, 149; Stallsmith 2008a, 130.
 22. For the antiquity of the festival, see Clinton 1992, 29. The arguments for a spread of the cult of *Demeter Eleusinia* in Ionia during the PG period are laid out by Graf 1985, 274 and Schipporeit, 2013, 359–360: among others, at Ephesos the cult was in the hands of *basileis* descending from the founder of the city, Androklos, while Herodotos explicit considers the introduction of the cult in Miletos part of the foundation of the city. *Cf.* Stallsmith 2008a, 131; Bowden (2007) argues for a later transmission. For the possibility of a Bronze Age origin for this festival, see the discussion in Trümper 2004. Some scholars connect the Thesmophoria with elements of Neolithic cults (Burkert 1985, 244–245; Petersmann 2002, 112).
 23. Clinton 1986; Clinton 1992, 13–37.
 24. In the Orphic version Iambe is replaced by Baubo (Mylonas 1961, 291–293; Richardson 1974, 215–216), whose obscene performance in front of Demeter may provide an *action* for the *aischrologia* of the Thesmophoria (Graf 1974, 169–171).
 25. Clinton (1992, 28–37) suggests that a number of differences between the narrative in the Hymn and the Eleusinian Mysteries strengthen the possibility that the Hymn is really about the Thesmophoria. Such differences concern places and personalities that are central to the Mysteries but do not appear in the Hymn or vice versa (for example, the Mirthless Rock is not mentioned in the Homeric Hymn; and Hekate and Hermes appear in the Hymn but not in the Mysteries).
 26. Jeanmaire 1975 [1939], 296–297. *Cf.* Suter 2002, 85 n. 53.
 27. Kleid (2004, 48–49) connects the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* with mourning rituals.
 28. Jeanmaire 1975 [1939]; Richardson 1974, 301; Brumfield 1981, 240; Parker 1991; Suter 2002. The gift of the Mysteries appears in several local versions of the core myth, including Sicily and Arcadia (Stallsmith 2008a, 130). The metaphysical element of the Homeric Hymn is also demonstrated in the Demophon incident, in the sense that Demeter’s attempt to make the boy immortal represented an attempt to overcome death (Parker 1991, 9; *contra* Clinton 1992, 30).
 29. Dowden 1980, 414.
 30. For PY Un 2 and its significance, see Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 146–147 with previous references; Killen 1994; Lucack 2008, 44–49; Palaima 2004, 109–122. A connection has also been proposed between the term *mysterion* and the Hittite term *mumnae* (=to hide, to conceal), for which see Bremmer 2014, vii and n. 5.
 31. Ross 1955, fr. 15.
 32. Clinton 1992, 86. An inscription from the Athenian Agora (Clinton 2006, no. 138) makes a distinction between *μυησόμενος* and *μύστης*, implying perhaps a difference between a person who was going to be initiated and someone who was going to participate in the Mysteries but had already been through the initiation. See Clinton 1980, 279–280; *cf.* H. Foley 1994, 66. For the identity of the initiates, see Bremmer 2012, 376–377.
 33. Kerényi 1991 [1967], 46. For the different meanings of the term “initiation,” see Faraone 2003, 43–44. For initiation ceremonies as rites of passage, see van Gennep 1960, 65 and Turner 1987, 5.
 34. Clinton 1974, 13 and n. 15; Clinton 1988a, 69.
 35. Bremmer 2014, 2.
 36. Burkert 1987, 9. It is also the case that someone can be initiated in a cult that is not a mystery cult, for example a Dionysiac rite; see Clinton 2003, 53–55.
 37. Dowden suggests that if the original meaning of Telesterion had been “Hall of Initiation,”

- the proper term would have been *Myeterion* (Dowden 1980, 415).
38. Clinton 2010, 343.
 39. For the two youths see Parker 2005, 346. For Alkibiades and Andokides see Arist. *Nik. Eth.* 3.1.17; Plut. *Alk.* 19–22; Andok. 1. These and other incidents are collected by Mylonas (1961, 224–226). For a detailed discussion of the law protecting the secrecy of the Mysteries and the mechanisms for prosecuting impiety within the larger framework of religious authority in fifth-century Athens see Gagné 2009.
 40. Clinton 1974, 10–46; Geominy 1989, 256, 260. For the *Archon Basileus*, the *paredros*, and the *epimeletai*, see Mylonas 1961, 229; Clinton 1980.
 41. Clinton 1974, 86–89.
 42. *Ibid.* 68–76. For the *dromena*, see discussion later in the book, p. 22.
 43. *Ibid.* 47–68.
 44. Mylonas 1961, 233; Clinton 1974, 76–81. For the *mystagogoí*, see Simms 2011, 191–195.
 45. Clinton 1974, 82–86.
 46. The child was initiated, but not allowed to attend the epopteia (Clinton 2008a, 14–15, 19–20; see also Labrinoudakis 1971, 26 and 23 n. 3 for a review of the available testimonia). For the office, see Clinton 1974, 98–114.
 47. Mylonas 1961, 235–237; Clinton 1974, 89–114; Clinton 2008a, 14–15.
 48. Clinton 1974, 9.
 49. Mylonas 1961, 239; for the degrees of initiation, see especially Clinton 2003, 51.
 50. Paus. 1.14. Cf. Foucart, 1914, 297–299; Mylonas 1961, 239–243; Parker 2005, 343–344. On preliminary initiation, see Clinton 2008b.
 51. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* V.11.
 52. Clinton 1974, 13 n. 13 and 1989b, 1502–1503; Simms 2011, 183 n. 1.
 53. Clinton 1992, 86 and 2003, 50–51.
 54. Diod. 4.14.3. Lloyd-Jones 1967, 212; Boardman 1975, 6–7. For Herakles's initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries, see Colomo 2004. Cf. Burkert 1983, 294–297.
 55. Clinton 1974, 23.
 56. The standard publication of the Eleusinion is by Miles 1998.
 57. Mylonas 1961, 247–248.
 58. Graf 1974, 40–50, especially 42 note 11; Chaniotis 2012, 128, 134; Bremmer 2014, 4 and nn. 23–25.
 59. The ancient evidence is gathered by Foucart, 1914, 314–317; Cf. Mylonas 1961, 249–250.
 60. Mylonas 1961, 250–251.
 61. Mylonas 1961, 251; Clinton 1994b (who places the Epidauria on the seventeenth of Boeodromion); Parker 2005, 462.
 62. See the discussion in Foucart, 1914, 318–323.
 63. Pliilostr. *Vita Apollon.* IV.17; cf. Miles 1998, 59.
 64. The main source for the introduction of the cult is IG II² 4510, the so-called Telemachos monument (Beschi 1967–1968; Mitropoulou 1975; Beschi 1985; for a new edition of the relevant parts of this document, see Clinton 1994b). For the introduction of the cult in general, see Garland 1992, 118–121; Wickkiser 2008, 62–76; for the cult as a possible response to Athenian imperial aspirations rather than the plague that had devastated Athens a few years before, see Wickkiser 2002.
 65. Foucart, 1914, 324–339, with extensive ancient references. Cf. Mylonas 1961, 252–258; Parker 2005, 348–350; Bremmer 2012, 379–380.
 66. Strab. 10.3.10 (“ἀρχηγέτης τῶν Μυστηρίων”). For the role of Iakhos in the Mysteries, see Labrinoudakis 1971, 135; Clinton 1992, 64–71; Clinton 2010, 347–351.
 67. Clinton 1988a, 70; Graf 1996, 62–63; Robertson 1998.
 68. Miles 2012, 117–121.
 69. See the vivid description by Jan Bremmer (2014, 7).
 70. Papaioannou et al. 2011 think that these dances had a personal therapeutic function, in that they allowed initiates to express both their emotional state and their reverence to the goddess.
 71. Evans 2002.
 72. Foucart, 1914, 284–286. It is possible that not all the foods from which the initiates abstained related to this fast and that a distinction should be made between a temporary but absolute fast and a (possibly permanent?) abstention from certain foods. I thank Robert Parker for this comment.
 73. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* II.21. The complete sacred phrase is “ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐγγευσάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς καλάθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην” (“I fasted, I drank from the kykeon, I took out of the box, after I completed my task I placed back in the basket and from the basket in the box”). For a discussion of the σύνθημα, see Mylonas 1961, 294–303.
 74. The sacrament theory was suggested by Frazer (2012 [1912], 161–162 and n. 4) and followed by Loisy 1919, Wehrli 1934, and, more recently,

- Escotado (2010, 261). Cf. Burkert 1987, 110–111. See, however, Mylonas 1961, 259–260. Bremmer (2014, 3) suggests that the drinking of the kykeon and the accompanying acts could not have been part of the actual Mysteries, but would have been performed either during the Lesser Mysteries or at some other time.
75. See the overview of the uses of kykeon in Rinella 2012, 85–87.
 76. Its use as an intoxicant by Circe is in *Od.* 10.234 and 290. Its medicinal use is recorded in *Il.* 11.624; see Delatte 1955, 28–40; Richardson 1974, 344–345; Rosen 1987, 422.
 77. Kerényi 1991 [1967], 177–180. Robert Graves (1972, 106–107) had also suggested that the priests at Eleusis may have used hallucinogenic mushrooms, but without supporting this with any documentation.
 78. The main proponents of this theory are Wasson, Hofmann and Ruck 2008 (the original edition of this book, where the theory was suggested, was published in 1978). Cf. Watkins 1978, 14–16; Wasson et al. 1986. For a review of the relevant arguments and previous references see Escotado 2010, 274–286; Rinella 2012, 83–87.
 79. Burkert 1983, 281 and n. 36. Poppies appear often in Demeter iconography, most famously in the Ninnion tablet and the iconography of the kiste on the head of the Caryatid (Mylonas 1961, 159, 216).
 80. *Ov. Fasti*, 4.531. See the comparative analysis between the Homeric Hymn and the fourth book of Ovid's *Fasti* in Hinds 1987, 52–71. Ovid narrates the story of the rape of Persephone also in *Metamorphoses* (5.341–572), which parallels his story in the *Fasti* (Richardson 1974, 71).
 81. Albert Hoffmann, who cooperated with Kerényi on this issue, has publicly said that Kerényi overstated the effects of pennyroyal, as this herb does not have psychoactive effects (Wasson, Hofmann and Ruck 2008, 162, n. 4).
 82. Bremmer 2012, 382 and n. 51 for references.
 83. Burkert 1987, 108–109.
 84. See Parker 2005, 350–351 with extensive references.
 85. Mylonas 1961, 261–274; Clinton 1992, 84–90 and 1993, 118–119.
 86. The sacred marriage had been proposed by Foucart (1914, 496) and accepted, among others, by Harrison (1908, 548–551), J. Frazer (2012 [1912], II, 138–139), Labrinoudakis (1971, 127–130), and, more recently, Bremmer (2012, 385–386 and 2014, 9–10).
 87. Mylonas 1961, 270, 311–316; Burkert 1983, 284, n. 47. Parker 2005, 356–357; Clinton 2010, 343. As far as Asterios's sermon is concerned, the term *καταβάσιον* can be simply explained as the entrance to the underworld, as suggested by Burkert (1983, 284, n. 47) and as indicated by the usage of the word at the sanctuary of Trophonios (Hani 1975, 108). The two mystery cults modeled after the Eleusinian Mysteries were the Mysteries of Isis in Egypt, established by the hierophant Timotheus and the Egyptian priest Manetho at the request of Ptolemy Soter; and an obscure mystery cult established by Alexander of Abonuteichos, otherwise known as the “false prophet”, a “kind of Greek Joseph Smith” as Jan Bremmer (2014, 9) aptly describes him (for Alexander, see Chaniotis 2002). However, the Isis cult was not a replica of the Eleusinian Mysteries, but fused Greek and Egyptian characteristics (Spanu 2009), not to mention that the information about a sacred marriage comes from the second-century CE poet Mesomedes, half a millennium after its establishment. As for Alexander's Mysteries, given his well-known entrepreneurial spirit, they clearly represented an effort to “sell” his new cult by sensationalizing it. Some scholars see a *hieros gamos* in the Homeric Hymn (Suter 2002, 101–118), but this does not translate to an actual ritual in the Mysteries.
 88. Eliade 1981, 297; refuted by Mylonas 1961, 271–272.
 89. Burkert 1983, 274–293, esp. 282–284. See also the arguments presented by Clinton (1988a, 71).
 90. Mylonas 1961, 261–269; Clinton 1992, 84–91; Clinton 1993, 116; Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 29; Clinton 2010, 353–355.
 91. Sandbach 1969, fr. 178. Stobaeus, who preserves the passage (4.52.48–49), assigns it to Themistius, but it is believed to be an excerpt from Plutarch's *De Anima* (Roskam 2007, 136 n. 174). This passage has been widely discussed. The simulated trip to the underworld was suggested by Foucart (1914, 392). Mylonas (1961, 264–269) had doubts as to whether it applies to the Mysteries, but most scholars tend to accept that it is based on the Eleusinian experience, either loosely (Seaford 1981, 255; Clinton

- 2004, 93) or closely (Foucart 1914, 393; Burkert 1987, 162, n. 11).
92. Clinton 2003, 66–67.
93. Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 37.
94. Clinton 1993, 115–116. Clinton convincingly identifies the Mirthless Rock with a stone shaped like a seat inside the cave of Plouton: Clinton 1992, 23–24; cf. Clinton 2010, 353.
95. For the sources, see Clinton 1992, 85–86 with references and Parker 2005, 354 and n. 122. Fourcart (1914, 392) accepted the idea of a simulated trip to the underworld, but Noack (1927, 236), Mylonas (1961, 268–269), and Burkert (1983, 280) dismiss the possibility.
96. Parker 2005, 354–355.
97. Clinton 2010, 343 and 1992, 86, n. 123. For the reference to the blindness of the initiates, see Clinton 1992, 86, n. 127.
98. Parker 2005, 353.
99. Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 292. Mylonas 1961, 263; Clinton 1992, 87; Bremmer 2012, 383–384. For the theory that the sacred drama may have concluded with the showing of an ear of corn symbolic of Kore, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 35–37.
100. See n. 91 in this chapter; cf. Clinton 1992, 89–90, nn. 134a, 135.
101. Hippol. *Ref. Haer.* 5.8.40. For the brilliant light that broke the darkness, see Clinton 1974, 46; Clinton 2004.
102. Clinton 1974, 46.
103. Parker 2005, 352 and references in n. 110.
104. Clinton 1974, 47.
105. Mylonas 1961, 273–274, 303–305.
106. Bowden 2010, 24.
107. Eliade 1981, 296.
108. Clinton 1993, 119 and 2003, 65–66.
109. Clinton 2010, 343.
110. Clinton 1993, 119 and 2010, 355.
111. Mylonas 1961, 279; Bremmer 2012, 389–390; Miles 2012, 116–117.
6. Pavlides, Papadopoulos, and Ganas 2002, 61–84.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Iliopoulos, Stamatis, and Stournaras 2011; Higgins and Higgins 1996.
9. Ganas, Papadopoulos, and Pavlides 2001, 191–196; Ganas, Spina et al. 2007.
10. Ganas, Papadopoulos, and Pavlides 2001, 191–196; Ganas, Spina et al. 2007; Pavlides, Papadopoulos, and Ganas 2002, 61–84.
11. Ganas, Papadopoulos, and Pavlides 2001, 191–196.
12. Ganas, Spina et al. 2007.
13. Pavlides, Papadopoulos, and Ganas 2002, 61–84.
14. Karavitis, Bosdogianni, and Vlachos 2001.
15. Data based on observations from 1950 to 1992 (Karavitis, Bosdogianni, and Vlachos 2001).
16. Duser et al. 2011.
17. *Ibid.*; Finne et al. 2011.
18. Duser et al. 2011; Fouache and Pavlopoulos 2011.
19. Duser et al. 2011; Finne et al. 2011.
20. Finne et al. 2011.
21. Julien-David Le Roy, who visited Attica in 1755, calls it “one of the most fertile plains of Attica.” Cf. Le Roy 2004, 429.
22. Karavitis et al. 2001, 133.
23. Ministry of National Economy, Statistics Division 1914.
24. Shoe 1949.
25. Dworakowska 1975, 17.
26. Wilkins 1817, pl. 5; cf. Noack 1927, 7, fig. 1.
27. Travlos 1949, 144 n. 18.
28. *Ibid.*, 145.

CHAPTER 4

CHAPTER 3

- Modern statistics from Karavitis, Bosdogianni and Vlachos 2001, 133.
- Ibid.*
- Fouache and Pavlopoulos 2011.
- For the geological history of the area, see Higgins and Higgins 1996.
- Mariolakos, Fountoulis, and Kranis 2001, 3971–3986.
- Sfyroeras 1985, 14.
- Judeich 1897, 430–431.
- This was probably the Hadrianic bridge over the Kephissos River. For Cyriacus’s visit, see Bodnar 1960, 41 and n. 2. The drawing is preserved in Sangallo n.d., fol. 29. For the “aqueduct,” see Travlos 1988, 319 and Lolos 1997, 305.
- Sfyroeras, 1985, 26.
- Wheler 1682, 427–429.
- I have not seen John Cooke’s *A voyage performed by the late Earl of Sandwich round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739, written by himself; to which are prefixed, Memoirs of the noble*

- author's life*. Second ed. London: Lackington, Allen. The information mentioned here is from Simopoulos 1973, 185.
7. Koumariou 1988, 86; Scrofani 1801, 148; Oliver 1801–1807, 464.
 8. Le Roy 2004, 428–429.
 9. Chandler and Revett 1825, 237. See the discussion also in Clogg 1985, 9. Attributing some kind of supernatural properties to ancient remains was not uncommon in Greece, even up to the twentieth century: see Athanassopoulou 2002, 285.
 10. For a critical discussion of the story of the removal of this statue and the superstitions related to the statue see Petrakos 2007.
 11. Politis 1965, 74–75. Cf. Methenitis 1971.
 12. The locals attributed the sinking of the ship to the curse of the statue (Petrakos 2007, 321–323).
 13. The story of the removal of the statue is told in Clarke 1809, 33–37; Michaelis 1882, 242–244 and drawing on p. 243. The statue is featured in the Gallery Guide of the Museum (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 2010). The misadventures of the *Princess* at Beachy Head are narrated in Renno 2004. The white cliffs of East Sussex provide a notoriously treacherous passage: in the nineteenth century there were more than 300 recorded shipwrecks off the shores of the area between Pevensey and Newhaven, where Beachy Head is.
 14. Politis 1965, 74–75.
 15. Dodwell 1819, 581–585. On Dodwell's comments see Bracken 1975, 83.
 16. Chateaubriand 1856, 118.
 17. Gell 1819, 28.
 18. Hobhouse 1825, 375.
 19. The temple of Artemis was not systematically investigated and correctly drawn until Orlandos (1932).
 20. Wilkins 1817, plate III.
 21. Pouqueville 1820–1821, 125–127.
 22. Lenormant 1862.
 23. Philios's reports appeared in the annual volumes of the *Praktika* and of the *Arkhaiologike Ephemeris*, as well as in a book published in French (Philios 1889b).
 24. These were reinvestigated later by Kourouniotes (1930–1931, 26).
 25. Philios 1892, 32.
 26. For the Stadium, see Travlos 1949, 146.
 27. A detailed account of these excavations can be found in Cosmopoulos 2014a.
 28. Papangeli 1983, 1984, 1988, 1990, 2004.
 29. Giraud 1991; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999; Clinton 2006; Cosmopoulos 2014a.
 30. Mitsopoulou 2009, 2010, 2011; Kokkou-Vyridi 2010; Tiverios 1997, 2003, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2013.

CHAPTER 5

1. A Neolithic steatopygic figurine (Figure 7, top) is exhibited at the Eleusis museum (Mylonas 1932a, 138–140, fig. 115; Cosmopoulos 2014a, Catalogue number 1400), but it probably came from neighboring Mandra. Neolithic pottery has been found also in a salvage excavation in the town of Eleusis (K. Papangeli, personal communication).
2. For the most recent up-to-date account of the EH period, see Pullen 2008.
3. For the finds from the old excavations see Mylonas 1932a, 59–62, 59–62. For the finds from the recent excavation see Cosmopoulos 2014a, S SU 34, locus 7. Cf. Cosmopoulos 2004.
4. Mylonas 1932a, 40–141, fig. 116; Cosmopoulos 2014a, Catalogue number 1401.
5. Cf. Hope Simpson and Dickinson 1979, map F; Cosmopoulos 1991, App. tables 1.1–1.9.
6. Papangeli 1990, 56–58.
7. The only exceptions of which I am aware are at Lerna: Tower B has a maximum width of 1.50 m and W-133 reaches a width of 1.40 m (Rutter 1995, 93 and 160).
8. Papangeli 1988, 43–46.
9. Cosmopoulos 1991, nos. 141 and 174–176.
10. For recent discoveries of new EH sites in Attica, see the contributions in Vassilopoulou and Katsarou-Tzeveleki 2009 and Doga-Toli and Oikonomou 2013.

CHAPTER 6

1. Recent radiocarbon dates from the Argolid suggest that the MH I period there started about 2100/2000 BC and the MH II around 1900 BC (Voutsaki 2010a).
2. Wright 2008, 233–238; Philippa-Touchais 2011, 37.
3. Based on population estimates from other MH sites: Malthi, 125–175 people per ha., Asine, 200–250 per hectare. See Wright 2008, 241; Nordquist 1987; Touchais 1998, 71–78.

4. Wright 2008, 234–237. For the expansion of other sites in Attica during this period, see Papadimitriou 2010, 247; Privitera 2013, 27–33.
5. E.g., Kirrha, Eutresis, and the Aspis of Argos (Philippa-Touchais 2010); also Athens (Venieri 2010, 194).
6. Goldman 1931, 120; Philippa-Touchais 2010, 793.
7. Mylonas (1932a, 28) estimated that the mud-bricks of House P were rectangular, averaging 8 cm in thickness, 18 cm in width, and 37 cm length, and that they were placed perpendicularly to the direction of the wall.
8. Unpublished Excavation Notebook 1932, 44.
9. Only four bothroi have been found, all in the south slope. Bothros Ω (diam. 0.80 m, depth 0.20 m) contained animal bones and fragments of a large vase; more animal bones were found outside, placed on a pile with MH pottery and some obsidian fragments. A second bothros to the north of House Δ contained animal bones. Two more bothroi are reported by Skias in his pyre LXV and contained both burned and unburned human bones (Skias 1912, 4). It is possible that some bothroi were used for rituals, as has been suggested for bothroi containing animal bones from the West Cemetery and other MH sites (Nordquist 1990, 40; Blegen 1937, 34, 37).
10. For the definition of each type of grave, see Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 26–27.
11. E.g., Θπ6, Θπ7, Θπ16.
12. Mylonas 1975, B, 207.
13. Papadimitriou 2001, 79.
14. Mylonas 1975, B, 226. Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 29) and Papadimitriou (2001, 217) date the transformation from simple cist graves to the Complex Built Cist graves, especially those of the Γ-type, in MH III/LH I.
15. Mylonas 1975, 319.
16. See the discussion in Papadimitriou 2001, 164–165.
17. Philios 1889b, 188–191; Mylonas 1932a, 58–59, 122.
18. Other large graves are Grave Βπ1 of the West Cemetery, with a floor surface of 14.4 m² (6 × 2.40 m, *West Cemetery A*, 17) and the large grave at Portes in Elis, with a floor surface of 12.8 m² (8 × 1.60 m; Moschos 2000, 15, fig. 8). See also the extensive table with sizes of Built Cist Graves in the Tomb Inventory assembled by Papadimitriou (2001, 246–253). Although this grave belongs to Mylonas's B-type, it is even larger (almost double the floor surface) than the average size of the larger Γ-type graves from the West Cemetery, calculated by Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 48) at 4.1 m². For the recently discovered Complex Built Cist grave at Mitrou see Tsokas et al. (2012, 423–425, fig. 5b).
19. Mylonas 1961, fig. 6:Z13.
20. Papadimitriou (2001, 79) calls these graves “built chamber tombs.”
21. Travlos 1950, 136; Papadimitriou 2001, 79; also 77 no. 48 and 78–79 no. 54 (for the other two graves).
22. Papadimitriou 2001, 132–133, fig. 58a–c (Ayia Irini); 146–147 and fig. 65c (Makara); 95–6, 110–111, fig. 42a, 49b (Xeropolis). The “Theke” grave on Delos (Papadimitriou 2001, 136–137, fig. 61a–d) does not have a partition wall.
23. Papadimitriou 2001, 161 and n. 113.
24. Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 32.
25. As was the case with primary burials in Kaminia, Koukounara, and Nichoria: Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 54.
26. Philios 1889b, 191. Papadimitriou (2001, 79) explains the iron piece in terms of a possibly later (Late Geometric) use of the grave.
27. See pp. 94 (use in LH I) and 104 (relation to Megaron B).
28. Another possible example of this type of grave in a settlement setting may be Mitrou 73 (Papadimitriou forthcoming b).
29. Mylonas 1975, B' 60, pl. 140α.
30. S.I.1 and S.I.2 in Skias's pyre LXV: A. Skias 1912, 4 (“ὑπεράνω τῶν ὁποίων ἴστατο ὡς στήλη ἀργός τις λίθος”).
31. Skias, *loc. cit.*: “πρὸς καῦσιν ἐναγισμάτων”.
32. Ηπ14α, Ηπ18, Θπ25, Θπ26, Ιπ2, Ιπ4.
33. Mylonas 1975, A', 319–321, fig. 84, pl. 74α–β; B', 211.
34. Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 24.
35. Kilian 1987, 120–124 and 1989, 39–40; Dietz 1991, 293; Maran 1995, 69–72; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 24–25 with a full review of bibliography; Milka 2010, 347–355; Aravantinos and Psaraki 2010, 389–392; Philippa-Touchais 2013.
36. Cosmopoulos 2014a, E.II.1 and E.II.2.
37. Skias (1898a and 1912, *passim*) is explicit that more graves lay in Sector I, but they had been so eroded that it was not possible to number them and describe them separately, so one must

- assume a more dense distribution of graves than what the plan shows.
38. Such is the case of the Pit Grave S.III.4 and the Cist Grave S.III.8, placed in the narrow space between Houses Γ and Δ, of the Simple Cist S.III.11, placed outside the apsidal wall of House Δ, and of the Pit Graves S.III.12–S.III.14, placed outside Wall α of House Z.
 39. Plasi, and possibly Asine and Kirrha (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, nn. 25–27).
 40. Cosmopoulos 2014a, S SU18.
 41. Asine: Nordquist 1987, 76; Argos: Protonotariou-Deilaki 2009, 51, pl. B2: Mycenae: Alden, 2000, 19.
 42. Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 25 with further references.
 43. Mylonas 1975, B, 206. Cf. Voutsaki 1999, 108.
 44. See discussion that follows, p. 76.
 45. Mylonas's kyathoi of type 2 (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, pls. 402–403).
 46. Zerner 1993, 46; Kilikoglou et al. 2003, 134–135; for the most up-to-date discussion, see Gauss and Kiriati 2011, 178–180.
 47. Kiriati 2010, 694–697. Cf. Zerner (2008, 205–206) and Philippa-Touchais (2006).
 48. It has been established that the further away from the southeast Peloponnese a site is located, the smaller amounts of Lustrous Decorated pottery it has. At Ayios Stephanos, Lustrous Decorated pottery amounts to approximately 22% of the MH material, whereas at Asine the percentage drops to 2.84%. For the patterns related to the geographical distribution of this pottery, see Zerner 1986, 67 and 1993, 46; Jones 1993, 11–17; Kiriati 2010, 688, 694–697.
 49. This is Rutter's Micaceous Minoanizing (=Zerner's Minoanizing Red Silver Micaceous) group: Rutter and Rutter 1976, 11; Zerner 1993, 47 and 2008, 206.
 50. For the appearance of wheel-made or wheel-fashioned wares at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, see Choleva 2012.
 51. Cosmopoulos, Kilikoglou et al. 1999
 52. Gauss and Kiriati 2011, 143–144, group FG8.
 53. Mylonas 1975, pls. 401–402.
 54. Goldman 1931, 133, fig. 178, 180–181 and 143, fig. 199; Argos: Vollgraff 1906, 5–45, fig. 8; Ayios Stephanos: Zerner 2008, 247, fig. 5.24:1484 and 287, fig. 5.52:2221.
 55. Zerner 1993, 43, 47; Sarri 2007, 151 and personal communication. Philippa-Touchais and Touchais 2011, 211. Pavuk and Horejs (2012, 13–39) suggest that Grey Minyan pottery may have been also produced in Euboea.
 56. Sarri 2007, 151.
 57. Sarri 2010b, 75–76 and personal communication.
 58. In contrast to other sites, where the percentage of Aeginetan pots is not high, at Eleusis they amount to almost half of the undecorated pottery. At the Aspis of Argos, for example, they represent about 20% of the undecorated pottery (Touchais 2007, 84).
 59. Maran 1992, 144–147 and 185–188; Lindblom 2001; Touchais 2007, 81–96.
 60. Valmin 1938, 287–290; Holmberg 1944, 106.
 61. For its distribution, see Sarri 2010b, 184–185.
 62. Caskey 1972, 378; for the decoration, see Rambach 2000.
 63. Dietz 1991, fig. 25: 232; Maran 1992, pl. 26: no. 811; Lindblom 2001, fig. 4: no. 12.
 64. Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 215.
 65. From grave Επ2: Mylonas 1975, 202–203, pl. 405β:Επ2–301, 302; Μπ 9–894, Γπ19–107γ. One more fragment of a bull-shaped vase has been found in the settlement (not illustrated here), but it preserves only part of the rear end of the animal with the beginnings of the hind legs (Cosmopoulos 2014a, pl. 34:429).
 66. Walter and Felten 1981, pl. 115:395.
 67. *Ibid.*, pl. 115.
 68. Schliemann 1880, 189–193; Dickinson 1977, 77. Cf. also the still unpublished headdress or “crown” from Routsis tholos 1, described in *Ergon* 1989, 29.
 69. Mylonas 1932a, 146–148, fig. 121.
 70. Mylonas 1975, pl. 51a.
 71. *Ibid.*, pl. 50a.
 72. *Ibid.*, pl. 51a.
 73. Mylonas 1932a, 142–143, fig. 118.
 74. The conical whorls belong to Nichoria Types 7 and 9 and the biconical to Nichoria Type 4: Carrington Smith 1992, 676–679, figs. 11–1, 11–2.
 75. *Ibid.*, 687, no. 2789.
 76. Mylonas 1975, B, 225–226, Γ, pls. 92γ–ε, 100α.
 77. Mylonas 1932a, 53.
 78. Cosmopoulos 2014a, nrs. 1451, 1452
 79. Mylonas 1932a, 144–145, fig. 119 top; also Mylonas 1932b, 115, fig. 14.
 80. Illustrated in Mylonas 1932a, fig. 120β and 120δ.
 81. *Ibid.*, fig. 120γ.
 82. *Ibid.*, 146, fig. 120α.

83. *Ibid.*, fig. 119 (which shows fifty-three instead of the reported fifty-one tusks); Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997, 40, no. 8.
84. Wright 2008, 239–240; Forstenpointner et al. 2010, 734–742; Voutsaki, Milka et al. 2013.
85. Forstenpointner et al. 2010, 737.
86. *Ibid.* 735.
87. Ingvarsson-Sundström, Voutsaki, and Milka 2013, 154–156.
88. Forstenpointner et al. 2010, 736.
89. Galik et al. 2010, 744.
90. For a full discussion of physico-chemical characterization, see Lindblom 2001, 38–40.
91. Papadimitriou 2010, 250 with further references.
92. Maran 1992, 181, 186, 189, 198, 200, 201, 200–214 (although it should be kept in mind that Kiapha Thiti was sparsely occupied in MH I-II); Immerwahr 1971, no. 314; Wide 1896, 385–409; pl. XV: 4–6; Sarri 2010b, 203–204.
93. Cosmopoulos, Kilikoglou, et al. 1999, 131–137; Gauss and Kiriati 2011, 143–144, group FG8.
94. Spencer, 2010, 667–681.
95. See later discussion, p. 73.
96. Cosmopoulos 2014a, catalogue numbers 36–39.
97. Maran 1992, 201 and figs. 29.4–5; Pantelidou 1975, 161; Papadimitriou forthcoming (a).
98. Maran 1992, 202.
99. Immerwahr 1971, 320–322; Davis 1977, 270; Kalogeropoulos 2010, 215.
100. As possible Minoan imports have been suggested two seals and the two bull rhyta from the West Cemetery (Figure 27): however, one of these seals was probably LH IIB (Mylonas 1975, B, 256), and the bull rhyta do not find any parallels in Crete (although one has to admit that the concept of the bull rhyton must have derived from Crete).
101. During the preliminary study of the material I had thought that these Minoanizing sherds may have been actual Minoan imports. At that time I communicated this to Ann Suter (Suter 2002, 147 and n. 640), but this turned out to be incorrect.
102. Girella 2010, 868; for Minoanizing pottery, see Papadimitriou 2010, 249 with references.
103. Rutter 2007, 37.
104. Rutter 2001, 134, fig. 15.
105. Wright 2010, 806.
106. Papadimitriou 2010, 249–250.
107. See also Maran 2007, 171.
108. Papadimitriou 2010; Phialon 2011, 54–63; Privitera 2013, 28–33.
109. Nordquist 1995, 203–204.
110. *Loc.cit.*
111. *Loc.cit.*
112. For MH III and LH I kilns see Skorda 2006 and 2010; Venieri 2010, 187–198.
113. Cf. Dickinson 2010, 17, who points out that Aeginetan wares were imitated by other wares. A similar picture has emerged in the Aspis of Argos (Anna Philippa Touchais, personal communication).
114. Cf. Lindblom 2001, 32; Sarri 2010a, 606.
115. Such buildings are absent in other MH I sites, with the possible exception of House 98A at Lerna. Cf. Caskey 1957, 149–150, fig. 4; Zerner 1978, 36–38, fig. VII; I. Mylonas-Shear 1987, 151.
116. Cf. above, n. 42.
117. See Voutsaki 2010a, 776–777 for Asine.
118. Same as at Asine (*ibid.*). It should be noted, however, that at Eleusis, much like at Asine and at the Aspis, facilities for large-scale storage (which would have been an indication of surplus accumulation and craft specialization) have not been preserved.
119. Of the sixty Bronze Age graves in the settlement area, only nine belong to adults and of these only two or possibly three can be dated to MH III/LH I. Cf. also Pomadère 2010, 419–420; Papadimitriou 2010, 252–254.
120. Papadimitriou, Philippa-Touchais, and Touchais forthcoming; Shelton 2010; Dakouri-Hild 2001, 115–116.
121. Papadimitriou 2011, 467–491; cf. Wolpert 2004.
122. Mylonas 1975, B, 205, 216; Cf. Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 34; Voutsaki 1998, 46; Papadimitriou 2001, 175 and 2010; Wright 2008, 238. Philippa-Touchais (2010, 794–795) has noted a shift in burial practices at Aspis (Argos), where in MH I-II and MH IIIA burials are “either isolated inside or outside houses or organised in two groups in open areas next to houses,” but in the final MH period there are no graves from the settlement.
123. Papadimitriou 2001, 178 and n. 43.
124. Philippa-Touchais 2013; For differentiation according to age, gender, and other criteria in MH burials, see Voutsaki, Sarri et al. (2007, 152–192) and Voutsaki (2009, 125–126).

125. Papadimitriou 2001, 70. Note, however, that it is not uncommon for MH graves to not contain any burial gifts at all: at Lerna 70% of the graves did not contain objects and at the Lower Terrace of Asine, this percentage reached 85% (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 31 with further references).
126. Where the MH graves at Thebes are concerned, the evidence points to different results, as there does not seem to exist differentiation based on age, sex, or wealth; instead, it is possible that the social persona of the individual is defined through its group (family) identity (Aravantinos and Psaraki 2010, 385–386, 393).
127. Cosmopoulos 2014a, E.III.6.
128. Kilian-Dirlmeier includes this grave in her group of uncommon graves, which she believes emerged already in the middle part of the MH period (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997, 46–47).
129. Settlement: Cosmopoulos 2014a, E.III.7; West Cemetery: Mylonas 1975, Zπ6.
130. Papadimitriou 2011, 467–491.
131. Dickinson 1977; Voutsaki 1998, 41–58; Cavanagh and Mee 1998; Papadimitriou 2001; Boyd 2002; Papadimitriou, Philippa-Touchais, and Touchais forthcoming.
132. Papadimitriou 2010, 251 with further references.
133. Wright 2004, 64–89.
134. Dickinson *et al.* 2012, 23.
135. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1997, 54.
136. Cosmopoulos 2014a, S SU 21. The evidence for the presence of burned bones derives from the chemical analysis of the ashes, which included a high level of phosphate (Skias 1898a, 78); there is no further information, but given the absence of human remains from this area, these burned bones would probably have belonged to animals.
137. See n. 9 in this chapter.
138. Papadimitriou 2001, 160.
139. Cosmopoulos 2014a, S.I.3, S.I.4, and S.I.5.
140. Rutter 2007, 43; *cf.* Zerner 1990, 23–34 and Nordquist 2002, 121–127. The deposition of pairs of vases, which Nordquist (2002, 127–133) observed for some MH III/LH I graves, is not documented at Eleusis.
141. Excavation report in Choremis 1969, 10–14; see a detailed discussion of the ritual significance of this find in Hägg 1997, 15–16, fig. 2.
142. Mt. Kynortion: Lambrinoudakis 1980, 43–45 and 1981, 63; Nisakouli: R. Hägg 1997, 16–17. For ritual activities related to burials, see Papadimitriou 2001, 182–185 and Hielte-Stavropoulou 2004; Phialon 2011, 274–294.
143. Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 54; Papadimitriou 2001, 175.
144. Rutter 2007, 43.
145. Cosmopoulos 2014a, grave E.III.6.
146. Mylonas 1975, B, 209. Still, however, as a whole, the Eleusinian graves contain fewer burial gifts than those of other areas. The large number of graves without burial gifts agrees with the situation in other MH cemeteries, where it has been observed that infant graves in general have more burial gifts than adult graves do (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 31).
147. Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 110.
148. Cosmopoulos 2014a, S.I.3, S.I.4, and S.I.5.
149. Mylonas 1936b, 424; Cosmopoulos 2014a, Grave H.1.
150. Cosmopoulos 2014a, E.I.13.
151. Papadimitriou 2001, 195.
152. For the process of Mycenaeanization, see Phialon 2011 and the comments made by Papadimitriou 2001, 194–201 and 207–210.
153. Wright 2010, 815; Konsolaki-Yiannopoulou 2010, 73.
154. Papadimitriou 2010, 248.

CHAPTER 7

1. Following Wright 2008, 231.
2. Cosmopoulos 2014a, S SU 6 and S SU 7 (Skias' architectural phases 1 and 2).
3. Cosmopoulos 2014a, H SU 3.
4. Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 20–23; Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 2–5; Mylonas 1961, 35–49.
5. Contra van den Eijnde 2010, 144, where this wall is considered a “paper wall.”
6. Contra van den Eijnde 2010, 141, where it is claimed that “no trace of the column is visible *in situ* today.” The base is *in situ*, but the trenches have been backfilled.
7. Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 276. Three of these slabs are still visible: see the discussion that follows, p. 110. Contra van den Eijnde 2010, 143, where it is claimed that “Nothing of these steps remains and it is uncertain whether such steps in fact existed.”
8. For a detailed report on the bones, see Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014.
9. Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 23.

10. See the discussion of the fresco on p. 102. For the Geometric wall see p. 132.
11. It is unclear whether the original idea was formed by Kourouniotes or Mylonas, but it was in Mylonas's classic 1961 book that it was argued systematically.
12. Travlos 1970, 60; Travlos 1983, 329–333.
13. Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 149–150.
14. For example, Ayios Kosmas Houses S and T; Eutresis Houses BB and V; Krisa House E, second phase; Korakou House O (Mylonas-Shear 1968, 479–480).
15. Darcque 1981.
16. Kourouniotes 1930–1931, drawing 1.
17. Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933.
18. Darcque 1981, 601.
19. Burkert 1985, 49; Van Gelder 1991, 60; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 347 n. 735; Whittaker 1997, 14–16; van den Eijnde 2010, 146–148.
20. This evidence is presented in detail in Cosmopoulos 2003 and 2014b.
21. Notebook 1932, 60 (referring to the original grouping of Wall 3 with Wall 2 instead of Wall 5): “Φαίνεται όμως ἐκ των ὁσπράκων ὅτι [Wall 3] εἶναι μεταγενέστερος καὶ κατ’ ἀκολουθίαν θὰ ἀντιστραφῇ τὸ ἀρχικόν μου σχέδιον προτεραιότητος.”
22. The evidence is laid out in detail in Cosmopoulos 2014b.
23. Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014. The platform, in fact, conforms in size and in shape to the criteria of an altar for burned animal sacrifices, as per Bergquist's (1988, 32) definition: “an appropriate, detached, built or otherwise shaped, solid structure of limited, upper surface and moderately raised for the display and operation of a ritual burning of (a part of) an animal offering.”
24. Renfrew 1985, 18–21; Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 124–125.
25. See n. 52 in this chapter.
26. See earlier discussion, p. 132. Details about this find and its significance in Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014.
27. See n. 52 in this chapter.
28. For the development of Mycenaean religious architecture, see Rutkowski 1986; Whittaker 1997, 136; Albers 1994. For the diversity in the form of LH cult buildings, see Petrakis 2009.
29. Cosmopoulos 2014a, Date Table 2.
30. For the graves opened in the floors of houses, see Cosmopoulos 2014a, graves H.1 and S.III.16; for those on top of abandoned houses, see *ibid.* S.II.1, S.II.2, and E.I.9.
31. *Ibid.* E.I.8.
32. *Ibid.* Data Table 2 for detailed information about the graves discussed in this section.
33. See earlier discussion, p. 54. For excavation reports, see Philios 1889, 188–191; Mylonas 1932a, 122.
34. See discussion that follows, p. 167.
35. See discussion that follows, p. 160.
36. Gauss and Kiriati 2011, 244.
37. Rutter 2001, 137; Mountjoy 1999, 491.
38. Lindblom 2001, 38; see also the recent discussion of the issue of Aeginetan production of Mycenaean-style poetry in Gauss and Kiriati 2011, 220–221.
39. Mountjoy and Ponting 2000.
40. Mountjoy 1999, 21–22.
41. A distinct Attic class of wheelmade pottery with pink or red fabrics and burnished unpainted surfaces. For definition and occurrence in the Acropolis Wells, see Mountjoy 1981, 51–56; for its occurrence at Eleusis, see Cosmopoulos 2014a, 441.
42. Mountjoy 1981, Table III.
43. Mountjoy (1981, 69–74) reports a low percentage (6.3%) of Mycenaean pottery from Well Z, which is the only one completely analyzed. In the same context, more Late Matt-painted is reported (18.1%), but the precise amount of Acropolis Burnished Ware is somewhat hidden within the vast amount (75.6%) of plain pottery. Overall, the majority of the plain wares were burnished (2,553 out of 3,463 sherds).
44. Asine: rounded alabstra decorated with curve stemmed ivy FM 12 and rock pattern FM 32; goblets decorated with argonauts FM 22:5 and chevrons FM 58:3. Tiryns: goblets decorated with argonauts FM 22:5 and chevrons FM 58:3.
45. Mountjoy 1993, 65.
46. Decorated with wavy line and foliate band, from Grave Mπ9 (Mylonas 1975, pl. 191.893).
47. Decorated with hatched loop FM 63, from Grave Θπ13 (Mylonas 1975, pl. 126.654).
48. Mylonas personal notes 1932, 71.
49. I am grateful to John Younger for his comments on this fresco and to Anne Chapin for providing chronological parallels.
50. Cosmopoulos 2014a, 510.
51. Cf. Rutter 2001, 134, fig. 15.
52. Mountjoy 1999, 485, 491–492.
53. Papadimitriou 2010, 250.
54. Privitera 2013.

55. Voutsaki 1998; 1999.
56. Wright 2008, 244–245.
57. Voutsaki 2010b.
58. Dickinson 1977, 96. *Cf.* also Petrakis 2010.
59. Mountjoy stipulates a similar mansion for Athens (Mountjoy 1999, 485).
60. See earlier discussions on pp. 52–54 and 94.
61. See earlier discussion on p. 135.
62. See earlier discussion on pp. 105–106.
63. Hamilton and Spicer 2005, 4.
64. For controlled centers of worship see Wright 2008, 249.
65. Clinton 2005, 167; *cf.* Parker 1983, 283; Burkert 1985, 242.
66. For the issue of the lack of references to Demeter in the Linear B tablets, see Palaima 2006, 65–66. For sacrifices of pigs in the Mycenaean period, see Rougemont 2006, 127.
67. Palaima 2008, 349.
68. van Gennep 1960; Turner 1987.
69. Jeanmaire 1975 [1939], 304. Richardson 1974, 17 and n. 3. Rituals enhance the identity of the participating group and separate the group from other groups. For evidence for similar separations in funerary rituals, see Papadimitriou forthcoming (c). For the suggestion that the Eleusinian Mysteries may have derived from harvest or transition rituals, see Jeanmaire 1975 [1939], 304; Richardson 1974, 17 and n. 3.
70. Parker 2011, 148, n. 94.
71. Methana: Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004; Pylos: Isaakidou et al. 2002; Halstead and Isaakidou 2004; Stocker and Davis 2004; Mt. Lykaion: Romano and Voyatzis 2014; Starkovich et al. 2013; Mt. Kynortion: Lambrinoudakis 1980 and 1981; Mycenae: French 2002; Umberto Albarella, personal communication). See the discussion in Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014, 267–270. For a different view, see Whittaker 2008.
72. R. Hägg 1981, 36–39; 1995, 391; 1996, 601; Albers 2001, 132, n. 6.
73. Sacconi 2001.
74. Hägg (1981, 36) considered Megaron B an expression of “official” cult because of its formal architectural features, especially the peribolos wall. For the general question of “popular” vs. “official” Mycenaean cult, see Hägg 1981 and 1995; Kilian 1992; Shelmerdine 1997, 577. Petrakis (2009, 18) cautions, however, that the evidence for Early Mycenaean cult is not extensive and more is needed to establish its character; although a general trend toward formalization can be noted in the increasing control of the cult by the palaces, Mycenaean religion never becomes standardized and uniform. For a detailed discussion, see Cosmopoulos and Ruscillo 2014.

CHAPTER 8

1. Papangeli 1984, 18.
2. Papangeli 1983, 27–29, fig. 5.
3. Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 21–23; Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 276–277; Mylonas 1961, 37–38.
4. Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 277; Mylonas 1961, 38. Mazarakis-Ainian (1997, 148 n. 1028) points out that these two handles may be Late Geometric or Protoattic.
5. Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 276.
6. Mylonas 1961, fig. 4, E1, E2.
7. *Ibid.*, fig. 4, Z6, Z7.
8. See discussion on p. 123.
9. *Cf.* Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 64 and n. 26; Papadimitriou 2001, 165.
10. The LH IIIA2/IIIB1 Mπ6 and the LH IIIB1 burials in the earlier Grave Θπ15 (Mylonas 1975, B, 49 and 192). In the case of Θπ15, the child had been placed on the mother’s chest, but apparently the two burials were not contemporaneous, as the mother had been buried earlier.
11. Mylonas 1975, 227; Papangeli 1988, 40–41.
12. Chamber tombs are better cut in soft rock (Mylonas 1975, 227).
13. As Cavanagh writes, a matter of “tradition over fashion” (Cavanagh 2008, 330).
14. Perhaps even political differences and opposition (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 56).
15. LH IIA Thorikos III; LH IIB–IIIA1 at Marathon; LH IIIB Menidi.
16. Mylonas 1936, fig. 10 (lower left corner).
17. Cosmopoulos 2014a, 468 in draft.
18. Mountjoy 1999, 31.
19. Mountjoy (1999, 553) notes its small size, reminiscent mostly of IIIC straight-sided alabaster.
20. See Cosmopoulos 2014a, 506–507 with further references.
21. Weder-Hiden 2009, 24–25, table 1.
22. Mylonas 1932a, 141–142, fig. 117.
23. Mylonas 1975, B, 228, 249–250.
24. Threpsiades, unpublished excavation notebook 1931, p. 58.
25. *Cf.* the ears in French 1971, 161, fig. 13.

26. Mylonas 1975, 250.
27. At Mycenae, only two zoomorphic figurines from LH IIIA1–IIIA2 funerary contexts are known, although this rises to 26 in LH IIIA2–IIIB2 (Tzonou 2002, 267, table 2 and 276, table 26). An animal figurine associated with a child burial was found in Aliko Glyfadas, Attica (tomb A), and another one in a LH IIIB2 cist grave in the Philopappos Hill in Athens; the head of a bovine was found in tomb XXXV at Zygouries, another animal figurine and two driven oxen were found in Deiras tomb XXVII, and sporadic figurines were also found in some of the tombs at Prosymna: in Tomb 3 (C36) and in Tomb 38 (C31) (Tzonou 2002, 166, 169, 171, 175, 203). Tzonou-Herbst (Tzonou 2002, 256) calculates that animal figurines become somewhat more popular in LH IIIA2–IIIB2 in comparison to IIIA1–IIIA2.
28. Mylonas 1932a, 142–143.
29. Carrington Smith 1992, 682.
30. See earlier discussion on p. 68.
31. Mylonas 1975, 318.
32. Mylonas 1932a, 148, fig. 122.
33. Cosmopoulos 2014a, S SU 34.
34. Mountjoy 1999, 532–535.
35. But see the view expressed by Privitera (2013, 47–49, 57–96), that Athens declined in the earlier part of LH IIIB (very few cemeteries have pottery of this period), perhaps due to the rise of Menidi, and started reviving only at the end of this period and in IIIC Early, when the Acropolis was fortified and Athens acquired a central place in Attica.
36. Haskell, Jones, and Killen 2011.
37. For a more extensive discussion of this piece and the interpretative problems associated with it, see Petrakis 2014.
38. Cosmopoulos 2014a, H SU1 and H SU 2.
39. See the criteria established by Darcque 2005, 338–339.
40. See earlier discussions, pp. 70 and 103.
41. Although feasting related to burial rituals may be seen in the broken vases on the slabs of one of the graves of the period (Cosmopoulos 2014a, E.I.13). Cf. the comments made by Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 112) about the possible psychological explanation of breaking objects on the grave, as a “ritual of separation”.
42. For the figurines see Cosmopoulos 2014a, E SU 10. Threpsiades mentions in his Notebook “... πλεῖστα εἰδώλια Μυκηναϊκά” (Unpublished excavation notebook, 1931, pp. 31, 39).
43. For the peribolos see Cosmopoulos 2014a, E SU 11.
44. Wright 1994.

CHAPTER 9

1. A discussion of the debate about the meanings of the term “Sub-mycenaean” is outside the scope of this book and does not really affect the argument for the continuing use of the site in this period. Here the term describes a group of pottery that belongs either to an Attic style contemporary to the last phases of LH IIIC Late in the Argolid (Desborough 1964; Snodgrass 2000; possibly used as burial pottery: Rutter 1978; Papadopoulos 1993, 176–181) or to a distinct chronological phase following LH IIIC Late (Mountjoy 1999, 56). In either case, this group of sherds connects the Post-palatial with the Sub-Geometric period. More on the issue in Whitley 1991, 81–82; Morgan 1999, 254–256; Dickinson 2006, 14; Papadopoulos, Damiata, and Marston 2011.
2. Mylonas and Travlos 1952, 56–57; Mylonas 1961, 60; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 24; Cosmopoulos 2014a, E SU 11.
3. See earlier discussion on p. 123.
4. Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 23: “... δαπέδου του, ἀποτελουμένου ἐξ ἐκλεκτῶν ὄχι πάρα πολὺ μικρῶν χαλικίων θαλάσσης (κατὰ πρό- τήμησιν μελανοῦ χρώματος) συμπίεσμένων μετὰ τῆς γῆς...”
5. Mylonas 1936, 426–431; Mylonas 1961, 49–51; Bennett 1986.
6. See Travlos 1983, 330; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 148, n. 1029. Mazarakis-Ainian also argues for the continued use of the Megaron B Complex, although he does not believe that it was used as a religious structure until at least the middle of the eighth century (Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 147–148, 347–348). Lippolis (2006, 141) also emphasizes the continued visibility of the Megaron B Complex, although he argues for its replacement by the end of the Geometric period. Further evidence for continuity in the use of this structure is taken from the recovery of two Geometric handles from about 5 cm above the floor of B1 (Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 277). For the general lack of evidence for the PG period in Attica (apart from funerary material from Athens) see Lemos 2002, 135.
7. Cosmopoulos 2014a, S.II.1.

8. Mountjoy 1999, 553.
9. Mylonas 1975, B, 21–22, pl. 107.626.
10. F. Ruppenstein, personal communication. Cf. the pieces from Elateia in Deger-Jalkotzy 2009, 113 fig. 12; 115 fig. 14; also the handmade amphoriskos from Kerameikos (Ruppenstein 2007, fig. 5, pl. 21; gr. 120/2).
11. See Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2012 for the contemporaneity of LH IIIB2 and LH IIIC1 material.
12. As evidenced by Perati, Porto Rafti and other sites (Privitera 2013, 49–52). Athens also seems to decline after LH IIIC Early (Privitera 2013, 47–49 47–49).

CHAPTER 10

1. Papangeli 2004, 405. Also reports in *Deltion* 46 (1991), B, 42: 6; 47 (1992), B, 36–38: 5; 49 (1994), B, 48:7.
2. Mylonas 1961, 56–63; Papangeli 2004, 404. Cf. Travlos 1983, 326–338, Fig. 2; I. Travlos 1988; Lippolis 2006, 145–158; Palinkas 2008, 28–46. A PG sherd is illustrated by Mylonas (1932a, 164, fig. 124). The PG and Geometric material is under study for publication by Kalliope Papangeli.
3. Noack 1927, 10–11; Kourouniotes 1930–1931; Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 279; Mylonas 1961, 56. Palinkas (2008, 32, 33) suggests that the reconstruction of E2 with seven steps may be “excessive, as only the three preserved steps are needed to ascend to the level of the terrace.” This observation may fail to account for changes in level and the action of erosion over time.
4. Mylonas 1961, 58. Mazarakis Ainian (1997, 148) estimates its width at 0.60–0.70 m.
5. Noack 1927, 10–13; Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 23–24; Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 274, 279; Mylonas 1961, 57–59. Sourvinou-Inwood (1997, 133, 135–136) and Lippolis (2006, 149) follow Mylonas in interpreting E3 as a part of an apsidal structure, although Lippolis suggests that it also functioned as a retaining wall.
6. Travlos 1970, 67.
7. *Ibid.* 68; Travlos 1983, 330; Mazarakis–Ainian 1997, 147–148. Travlos (1983, 330) also proposes that a propylon was added to Room B2 at this time. Palinkas (2008, 36–37), although accepting the interpretation of E3 as a terrace wall argues against the idea that it was intended to support Megaron B and suggests instead that it served as part of the retaining wall for an open ritual area. See also the discussion in van den Eijnde 2010, 152–154.
8. See earlier discussion, p. 128.
9. This interpretation was criticized by Binder (1998, 133–134, 136), who questioned Travlos’s use of a Delphic oracle recorded in the *Suda* to date much of the Early Iron Age activity at Eleusis to about 760 BC.
10. Philios 1884, 76. Philios’s original report of these figurines was called into question by Noack (1927, 11), but see Mylonas 1961, 57.
11. Noack 1927, 10–13, pl. 13.
12. P. 138. Cf. Kourouniotes 1930–1931, 26–27. For the analytical publication of this pyre, as well as the later pyres B and Γ, see Kokkou-Vyridi 1999.
13. Wrede 1933, 5, no. 2; Mylonas and Travlos 1981, 155; I. Travlos 1988, 92. Mylonas (1961, 63) briefly returns to this wall.
14. This date was questioned by Binder (1998, 135–136), who disavowed the existence of the Geometric wall entirely. The similarity of the masonry style of this wall to other Geometric walls at Eleusis is a strong argument for the date of this wall (Palinkas 2008, 39, especially n. 126).
15. Travlos 1983, 333; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 26.
16. Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 33 (south road); Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 23 (north road); Mylonas and Travlos 1952, 54–55 (east road); Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 26. For the road network around the settlement and sanctuary at Eleusis at this time, see Papangeli 2004, 405.
17. Sourvinou-Inwood, 1997, 135, 150; Kennel’s (1997) critique of Sourvinou-Inwood’s thesis does not affect the essence of the argument.
18. Kourouniotes 1940, 276–278; Mylonas 1961, 60; Travlos 1983, 337 n. 26; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997, 135–136. Papangeli (2004, 409) also accepts this building as a possible precursor to the later temple. Noting the distance of this structure from contemporary remains (ca. 70 m), Palinkas (2008, 42) suggests that whatever cult may be represented here would have been distinct from the ritual activity occurring in the area of the Telesterion.
19. Mylonas 1961, 60.
20. An alternative reconstruction of the building interpreting the corridor as a porch and the court as a road has been proposed by Lauter (1985, 163–169, fig. 22).
21. Travlos 1983, 333–336.

22. Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 151–152.
23. Travlos 1983, 333–336.
24. Lauter 1985, 168, n. 261 on the basis of *IG II²* 1672; Clinton 2006, cat. 177.
25. Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 153; Mazarakis Ainian 1999b, 28–32, esp. 32.
26. Kourouniotes and Travlos 1937, 42–50; Kourouniotes 1938, 94–97; Travlos 1983, 333–335, figs. 10–12; Mylonas 1961, 59–60.
27. See, in general, Kourouniotes and Travlos 1937, 42–52; Mylonas 1961, 59–60; Lauter 1985, 163–169; Fagerström 1988, 43–44; C. Antonaccio 1995, 190–191; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 150–151; Mazarakis Ainian 1999a; Mazarakis Ainian 1999b; Papangeli 2004, 409; van den Eijnde 2010, 168–185. Mylonas (1961, 59–60) notes that an altar erected in the early sixth century after the destruction of this building may indicate continuity in the ritual use of this area, at least until the late Archaic period. Antonaccio (1995, 190–191) confirms this view. For the later history of this building, see also Kourouniotes and Travlos 1937, 49–52.
28. Mylonas and Travlos 1952, 56–57; Mylonas 1961, 60. Binder's (1998, 138) doubts are unfounded. Lippolis (2006, 155–156) follows Mylonas's dating and observes the intriguing phenomenon that these "sacred houses" seem to go out of use at around the time that Eleusis became subordinate to Athens; he suggests that their abandonment resulted from shifts in the social organization at Eleusis, which may have de-emphasized the cults at these houses in order to mitigate focus on Eleusinian heroes and to downplay aristocratic families associated with them.
29. Papangeli 2004, 405–406. Papangeli sees a shift from the West to the South Cemetery occurring at this time, noting that there are no more than 30 graves of this period in the West Cemetery, compared to more than 150 in the South Cemetery.
30. Skias 1898a; Skias 1898b; A. Skias 1912. It appears that cremation was more popular in the EG, cremation and inhumation both appear in the MG, and inhumation in the LG (Papangeli 2004, 407).
31. Papangeli 2013.
32. Papangeli 2004, 408.
33. For the EG activity in the West Cemetery see Papangeli 2004, 406. For the prehistoric graves in this enclosure and the peribolos wall itself, see Mylonas 1975, B, 133–153 and 153–154 and 153–154, respectively.
34. Mylonas 1975, 262–264. See also Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 153; Papangeli 2004, 409.
35. C. Antonaccio 1995, 207. See Antonaccio's (1995, 112–117 and 207–220) discussion of the Iron Age treatment of earlier graves in the West Cemetery and the practice of erecting later walls around earlier cemeteries in general. Papangeli (2004, 409) has observed similar enclosures with ash deposits and possibly connected to ritual activity on the road toward Thebes, about 600 m to the northwest of the sanctuary, although these do not preserve traces of burials.
36. The argument that, with the same reasoning, Bronze Age remains should have also been obliterated by later construction, must be pre-empted here: MH and LH remains are more extensive than are those of the EIA because the former were periods of growth, with significant material remains, as opposed to the EIA, which was a period of shrinkage, during which material remains were few to start with.
37. De Polignac 1995, 13.
38. Parker 2011, 148. For the identification of the Eleusinian pyres as remains of enagismoi, see Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 147–159 and 181–185. The absence of animal bones is not a valid argument against the use of these pyres for enagismoi, as these rituals could involve bloodless offerings, libations, and offerings of foods (Ekroth 2002, 128). For the theory that the pyres belonged to ash altars, see Sahin 1972, 22–24.
39. Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 148; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 26. Binder (1998, 134) has dated the same material to the seventh century.
40. It is interesting, although not necessarily related to this building activity, that on the north slope of the Athenian Acropolis a sanctuary of Demeter seems to be established also in the seventh century (Miles 1998, 22).
41. Length estimated from plans measuring from the Archaic join with E5 to the point where it turns toward the west (Mylonas 1961, fig. 6, Z10). Palinkas (2008, 52) estimates the length to about 20 m. Mylonas (1961, 65–66) suggested that the wall, though poorly preserved, skirted the slope of the hill, continuing to the south under the Peisistratean wall (*contra* Noack), and may have covered an earlier peribolos wall of a previous phase in the Archaic

- period. The wall has stepped courses, a rather unusual feature paralleled only at Selinous during the Archaic period (Palinkas 2008, 53 n. 164). For the wall in general, see Philios 1883, 60–61; Philios 1884, 75–76; Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 280; Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 26–28.
42. Philios 1883, 60–62; Philios 1884, 76; Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 27; Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 281–282; Mylonas 1961, 66–67; Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 44–51, 60–68, 216–259 (pyres B and Γ); and *ibid.* 142–144 for a treatment of the dating of all the pyres. Mylonas (1961, 67) observes that the later two pyres (B and Γ) are likely to have been used from the end of the seventh century to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., while Kokkou-Vyridi dates them more specifically to the second quarter of the sixth century. Kokkou-Vyridi (2010) has also studied pyres B and Γ in terms of the fragments of vessels associated with marriage (loutrophoroi and lebetes gamikoi) from these areas.
 43. Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 280; Mylonas 1961, 66. Palinkas (2008, 55) observes that the continued association between the pyres and the probable entrances to the sanctuary area may denote ritual activity linked with entering (and perhaps exiting?) the sacred space.
 44. Travlos 1950–1951, 10, fig. 10A; Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 7. Noack's (1927, 16–23) outdated description is superseded by Mylonas 1961, 64, 67–70, who has cautiously associated this building with Solon. See also Kourouniotes's excavation reports (1930–1931, 27–30; 1931–1932, 4, 6–7; 1933–1935, 27–31). For the identification of the Telesterion as the Temple of Demeter, see Kourouniotes and Travlos (1933–1935); for the relationship of the early Archaic Telesterion with the Anaktoron, see Travlos 1950–1951, 10–11.
 45. Mylonas 1961, 68. See discussion that follows on p. 141.
 46. Clinton 1992, 126–132; Clinton 2004, esp. 90–96. For the Anaktoron, see Travlos 1950–51, 1–16; Rubensohn 1955, esp. 34–49; Mylonas 1961, 69–70. The existence of an inner sanctum at this early stage of the Telesterion was first proposed by Noack (1927, 21), who, however, situated it in the center of the building.
 47. Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 34–41, figs. 38–41; Mylonas 1961, 70–72.
 48. Mylonas 1961, 72–73.
 49. Mylonas (1961, 45, 64–65, 72) identified Well W with the Kallichoron Well, based on passages in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and Pausanias. Regardless of its specific identification, this was an important well, as shown by the articulation of space around it, and may have been connected with some kind of purification ritual. See also Noack 1927, 28–29; Mylonas and Travlos 1952, 55.
 50. Mylonas (1961, 77), who first attributed this phase of building activity to Peisistratos, stated that “we have no evidence to prove this association, but it seems reasonable to believe that he [Peisistratos] initiated the great works carried out during the time when he was active in determining the politics and policies of Athens.” Shear (1982, 131) associates the Telesterion with Peisistratos' heirs, while Hayashi (1992, 19–29) suggests that it should be dated to the democratic period. Clinton (2009, 52) accepts this democratic association as the dominant opinion in the scholarly community. Clinton (2006, nr. 2). provides a *terminus post quem* for the “Peisistratean” Telesterion. This monumental inscription seems to belong to a crowning course of a building or a wall. For a discussion of the Peisistratean involvement at Eleusis and the City Eleusinion, see also Miles 1998, 27–28.
 51. See Mylonas 1961, 88–90 for the association of the destruction of this building with the Persian Wars.
 52. Noack 1927, 48–70; Kourouniotes and Travlos 1933–1935, 74–75, and 79–82 for an account of the reuse of the architectural elements from this Telesterion, attributed by Noack to Temple F; Mylonas 1961, 78–88.
 53. See the description of the entablature in Mylonas 1961, 80–81; the ram's head is shown in Mylonas 1961, fig. 21. See also Noack 1927, 63–69; Philios 1883, 63. Palinkas (2008, 67) emphasizes the strong focus on the elaboration of the eastern side of the building, noting that the structure now “faced” important ritual areas in a visually powerful way.
 54. Noack 1927, 59–60; Travlos 1950–51, 10; Mylonas 1961, 82–83. Cooper (1996, 376) restores Doric interior columns in two levels, arguing that the Ionic order was not used until the Classical Telesterion attributed to Iktinos.

55. Travlos 1950–1951, 1–16; Mylonas 1961, 83–84; for Lykosoura, see Kourouniotes 1912, 146 and 160.
56. Noack 1927, 95–97; Mylonas 1961, 88.
57. Mylonas 1961, 90–91, drawing on a passage in Euripides (*Supp.* 33), as well as an inscription (*IG I³ 32* 17–18) dated the altars to the mid-fifth century (for the date, see Cavanaugh 1996, 19–27; Clinton 2006, cat. 30). Both of these sources confirm the presence of the altars at a later date, which in turn is used to infer the presence of earlier altars.
58. This is largely based on the presence of the earlier pyres outside the walls (Clinton 1988a, 71–72; followed by Evans 2002, 238–239, 244–251). On the other hand, Kokkou-Vyridi (1999, 147–159) notes that the rituals of the pyres and the rituals of the altars were of two different types and, therefore, the location of the pyres cannot be used to place the altars. See Palinkas 2008, 68 n. 199 for a full discussion of this issue.
59. Travlos 1949, 138–147, esp. fig. 2; Mylonas 1961, 93 (North Gate), 94–95 (Main Gate), 95 (other gates). The gates are mentioned in a fourth-century inscription listing repairs done to the wall and gates of Eleusis (Clinton 2006, 179–181 cat. 174). Largely on the basis of this inscription, Frederiksen (2011, 36) restores nine towers, six gates, and two or more sally ports. Clinton (1994a, 162) dates this wall later and considers it a response to the Spartan presence at Eleusis in 506 BC.
60. Mylonas 1961, 70–71.
61. Mylonas 1961, 97–99. This well was first identified as such by Philios (1892, 33–34). Mylonas (1961, 60, 65, 70–73, especially 72–73) proposes that it replaced the earlier Well W in Eleusinian ritual when this well and the stepped podium area went out of use with the construction of the new peribolos wall. For the ritual associated with the well, see Clinton 1992, 27–28.
62. Mylonas 1961, 99–100; Philios 1886, 29–31; Noack 1927, 79. Excavation of the cave itself was conducted in 1957 under Faure and Laurent (Daux 1958, 800–802), who reported signs of butchery and burning on recovered bones. The “Ploutonion” received its name from transactions recorded in Clinton 2006, nr. 177, but this work actually refers to work in the City Eleusinion: Clinton 2008a, 182.
63. Mylonas 1961, 100–101. Palinkas (2008, 73–75) understands this road as a processional route.
64. Mylonas 1961, 101–103; Kourouniotes and Travlos 1937, 50–51. Stewart (2008, 591) finds the attribution of this sculpture to a pedimental group for the structure in the area of the Sacred House “problematic.” See Noack (1927, 219) for the associated sculpture; Edwards (1986, esp. 308–309) has identified this figure as Hekate, and the subject of the pediment as Kore’s return from the underworld.
65. Mylonas 1961, 96–97.
66. Mylonas 1961, 103–105. Palinkas (2008, 79) argues against the use of a new Sacred Way, suggesting the continued use of Mylonas’s “Hollow Road” for cultic processions and entrance to the Telesterion from the south. The establishment of the interior gate along this route may support this idea.
67. The earliest vase with the figure of Eleusis is a skyphos by Makron, now in London, dated to 490–480 BC (Clinton 1992, 124; Smith 2011, 33).
68. The association of this stage of construction at the sanctuary with the Athenian politician Kimon is based on Plutarch’s account of his importance in rebuilding Athens following the Persian conflict (*Cim.* 13.7–8). Mylonas (1961, 107) therefore states that “Kimon seems to have been the right instrument which divine providence would have used for the reconstruction of the great Sanctuary.” The dates here are based on Mylonas’s assessment, from the Battle of Plataea to Kimon’s ostracism. A pre-Kimonian date of 490–480 is offered by Giraud (1991, 38–47), while W. B. Dinsmoor (1950, 195) associates this phase somewhat hesitantly with Themistocles. Stewart (2008, 588) likewise attributes to Themistocles at least the repair of the probable Persian breach in the walls. For the destruction by the Persians, see Boedeker 2007.
69. Noack 1927, 32–39; Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 22; Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 33–40; Mylonas 1961, 108–111; Giraud 1991, 49–50. Kourouniotes (1933–1935, 40 n. 1) first dates the wall to this period.
70. Dimensions from Mylonas (1961, 108–109). See *ibid.* 111 also for brief comments on the presumed dwellings. Palinkas (2008, 94–97) suggests that this area may not have been strictly ancillary at this time, but rather

- formed part of the processional route into the sanctuary.
71. Philios 1882–1883, 92; Noack 1927, 32–39; Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 33–40; Travlos 1949, 142; Mylonas 1961, 109–110; Giraud 1991, 49–55.
 72. Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 22; Mylonas 1961, 110–111.
 73. Kourouniotes 1931–1932, 18–22; 1935, 73–75; Mylonas 1961, 107–108.
 74. Noack 1927, 93–106; Mylonas 1961, 111–113. Shear (1982) argues that the Peisistratid Telesterion was purposefully demolished prior to the Persian attack as part of plans to erect a new (“Kimonian”) Telesterion, the construction of which was apparently halted by the Persian invasion. Palinkas (2008, 105–107) accepts this argument, attributing any signs of rebuilding to the new pre-Persian construction project. She goes on to draw parallels between this “interruption” in building and the commemorative treatment of the parts of the structure with the well-known case of Temples on the Acropolis in Athens itself. Clinton (2009, 53) likewise accepts this argument. For the expansion, see Noack 1927, 94–103.
 75. Dinsmoor (1950, 195, n. 4) attributed to the Kimonian phase of construction fifty-four column drums and sixteen Ionic column bases mentioned in two inventories (*IG I² 313* 103–110, *IG I² 314* 113–120). Noack (1927, 59–61), on the other hand, took them as elements of the Peisistratid building. See the discussion in Mylonas (1961, 82, 112) and Shear (1982, 129–133, 135 n. 28).
 76. Mylonas 1961, 112.
 77. Mylonas (1961, 113–114) referred to a number of literary sources mentioning a Perikleian connection to the Eleusinian building program: Plutarch (*Per.* 13.4–5), who assigned the rebuilding of the Telesterion to Koroibos, Metagenes, and Xenokles, and Strabo (IX.1.12) and Vitruvius (VII *praef.* 16), who attributed the building to Iktinos. The involvement of at least Koroibos is separately confirmed in an inscription (*IG I³ 32*; Kourouniotes 1932, 173–189; Clinton 2006, cat. 30). Clinton (1987, 260–262) provides a similar solution, in which first Iktinos and then Koroibos, Metagenes, and Xenokles work on the building. Corso (1981–82) argues for Iktinos’s design of the building, which would have been executed by the other three architects. Gruben (2001, 242–246) also follows this idea, and with Corso emphasizes the symbolic “closed” qualities and interior focus of the Telesterion design.
 78. For the Perikleian Telesterion, see Noack 1927, 139–183; Kourouniotes and Travlos 1933–1935; W. B. Dinsmoor 1950, 195–196; Lippolis 2006, 205–215. For the Iktinian Telesterion, see Mylonas 1961, 113–117; McCredie 1979, 71–73; F. A. Cooper 1996, 369–379, esp. 374–376. For the Telesterion of Koroibos, Metagenes, and Xenokles, see Mylonas 1961, 117–124. Clinton (2009, 54; 1987, 259; 1988b, 35–36; 2006, cat. 30) remarks that this building was probably completed by 432/431, emphasizing that its construction would have been roughly contemporary with that of the Parthenon, indicating the significance of the project.
 79. Noack (1927, 144–146) noted the unusually challenging structural distance between columns for this building. See also Dinsmoor 1950, 196; Mylonas 1961, 115–116.
 80. Travlos 1950–1951; Mylonas 1961, 120. See also Kourouniotes 1926.
 81. Mylonas 1961, 119–120, based on W. B. Dinsmoor 1950, 196.
 82. Mylonas (1961, 123) gives a destruction date of about AD 170, during the Costoboci invasion. Even then the building was repaired rather than replaced.
 83. Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 34; Mylonas 1961, 124.
 84. Noack 1927, 183–188; Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 33–37; Mylonas 1961, 124–125. See Palinkas (2008, 113–114) for an account of the earlier ritual structures buried in the construction of the wall and platform, while Stewart (2008, 589–590) remarks on a series of apparently deliberately decapitated Archaic sculptures, probably destroyed during the Persian sack of the sanctuary, found within the fill of this retaining wall. Lawrence (1979, 378) observes that this wall “may be the earliest with towers that curve around three quarters of a circle.”
 85. Kourouniotes and Mylonas 1933, 283; Kourouniotes and Travlos 1935–1936, 24–26; Mylonas 1961, 124–125.
 86. Giraud 1991, 57–85. More specifically, he suggests a date of 437–431 BC.
 87. Marked as S in Mylonas 1961, fig. 4. Cf. Noack 1927, 189–193; Mylonas 1961, 125–127. An inscription (*IG I³ 78*, identical to *IG I² 76* as cited by Mylonas), dated by Clinton (2006, cat.

- 28a and 28b; 2009, 54–58) to the 430s attests to the contemporary construction of granaries at the sanctuary. See also Cavanaugh 1996, 29–95.
88. See Mylonas 1961, 128–129 for the West Cemetery. See also Mylonas 1975, B, 273–297 for burials of the fifth century BC and 297–299 for the fourth through first centuries BC.
 89. Mylonas 1961, 105; Mylonas 1975, B, 269–273.
 90. Clinton 2009, 61; see the general discussion on pp. 58–61.
 91. Kourouniotes and Travlos 1935–1936; Mylonas 1961, 132–133; Ober 1985, 179. Mylonas and Travlos (1983) provide a short summary of the findings of Kourouniotes and Travlos (1935–1936).
 92. Scranton (1941, 123–128), however, has dated this wall to around 330 arguably putting the wall within the chronological range of Lykourgos’s political career. See also Noack 1927, 202–214.
 93. See Mylonas (1961, 135–137) for a thorough description of this wall. Distances were either taken from this text or estimated from plans (Mylonas 1961, fig. 4).
 94. Noack 1927, 205–206; Mylonas 1961, 136. This gate has been associated with the “South Gate” of IG II² 1672 by Travlos (1949, 146) and Mylonas (1961, 136). For this inscription, see Clinton’s (2006, cat. 177) extensive commentary.
 95. Mylonas 1961, 136.
 96. Mylonas 1961, 149. Giraud (1991, 87–103) elaborates on these repairs, proposing that this wall be identified with a “reception wall” that Tsountas had read in IG II² 1672a 23–25; the corrected edition of the inscription has, however, shown that there was no such reception wall Clinton 2006 and Clinton 2008a, nr. 177.
 97. For the question of whether a platform (to allow the expansion of the Telesterion or for some other reason) or a stoa was intended for these foundations in the early fourth century, see Jeppesen 1958, 103–149, esp. 103–108 (expansion); Mylonas 1961, 130–132 (platform); Mylonas and Travlos 1983, 150 (expansion after Jeppesen with modifications); Jördens 1999 (stoa; on this see Clinton 2008a, addendum to 141 on pp. 429–430; this stoa has not been identified). See also Noack (1927, 146–148), who associated these foundations with the planned Perikleian Telesterion, as well as Kourouniotes and Travlos (1935–1936), who noted that reused Perikleian blocks within the foundations necessitated a post-Perikleian date. On this topic, see also P. H. Davis 1930 and Scranton 1941, 123–128.
 98. Mylonas 1961, 133–134; Townsend 1982, 143–174, esp. 167. The proposed start date in the mid-fourth century is derived from building accounts in several inscriptions, including IG II² 1666, 1671, and 1673 (see Townsend 1982, 160–162 for a convenient summary of these), discussed further by Noack (1927, 112–117) and Davis (1930), as well as Townsend (1982, 159–167) and Clinton (2006, cat. 143, 151, and 159 respectively). P.H. Davis (1930, 18–19) suggests a date of 336 or 326 based on IG II² 1673, while Townsend (1982, 167) is more cautious, with a date of 352/351 for the initial stages of planning. The end date for the structure is taken from Vitruvius (VII *praef.* 17), who notes that Demetrius of Phaleron, active from about 317–307, was responsible for the stoa. The initial architect of the stoa was Athenodoros of Melite (Clinton 2006, 159, 177).
 99. Mylonas 1961, 133–135.
 100. *Ibid.* 145–146. For the platform in general, see *ibid.* 143–146.
 101. *Ibid.* 144. See also numbers 21 and 22 in Mylonas’s fig. 4. Two treasuries are attested epigraphically: IG II² 1672, 300–302 (Clinton 2006, cat. 177). Although the possible treasury at Eleusis is not specifically treated, Rup’s dissertation is useful for its consideration of the building type (1986, 226–256, esp. 228–231).
 102. Noack 1927, 78–81; Mylonas 1961, 146–149; Townsend 1982, 279–280. Clinton (1992, 18–21) highlights the chronological difficulties in associating the Temple of Plouton with the list of expenditures from 329/328 (IG II² 1672; Clinton 2006, cat. 177) and suggests that the temple mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified with the Ploutonion in the Cave, but should instead be associated with the Eleusinion in the city. Palinkas (2008, 137 n. 363) observes that this argument greatly complicates the dating of this structure.
 103. Marked as area B in Mylonas 1961, fig. 4; see Mylonas 1961, 97–99, 149; Mylonas and Travlos 1983, 148. Giraud (1991, 99 and 104–106) records modifications to the well enclosure both during the second half of the fourth century and later in the Hellenistic period.
 104. Mylonas 1961, 149–150.
 105. Skias 1895, 165–174; Noack 1927, 214–215; Mylonas 1961, 150.

106. Mylonas 1961, 150–151.
107. Mylonas 1961, 152; Lippolis 2006, 224. The contrast between the architectural elaboration of Athens and the sanctuary at Eleusis at this time has been noted by Lippolis (2006, 227) and Palinkas (2008, 151).
108. Mylonas 1961, 152–153.
109. Mylonas 1961, 153–154, fig. 4 no. 31; cf. Skias 1895, 174–180; McDonald 1943, 187–189. Gneisz 1990, 139–143. Hellmann (2002, 287) comments only briefly on bouleuteria, observing that the identification of Hellenistic versions is relatively straightforward. Gneisz (1990, 142–143), however, has dismissed this building as a candidate based on the late date (early third century AD) of the inscription mentioning the Bouleuterion (*IG II²* 1078, 40–43), proposing instead that the structure, and particularly the semicircular wall in the central room, should be understood as an exedra for a sculptural group. Mylonas (1961, 182) seems to date this curvilinear feature to the Roman period, at which time, as McDonald (1943, 14) had previously argued, the building may actually have been used as a Bouleuterion (as opposed to the Hellenistic structure). The inscription itself is discussed by Clinton (2006, 470–472 n. 638). Mylonas (1961, 154), Lippolis (2006, 227) and Palinkas (2008, 157 n. 414), however, point out an inscription of the fourth century BC (*CIA* III, 5) that may demonstrate the presence of a Bouleuterion at that time. The Bouleuterion at Eleusis is attested as far back as 408/407 (Clinton 2008a, 409). The “inscription of the fourth century BC” pointed out by Mylonas, Lippolis, and Palinkas (*IG II²* 1078) actually dates to the third century CE, whereas the other two inscriptions cited by Mylonas, from the fifth century BC, do not actually refer to the Bouleuterion at Eleusis (Kevin Clinton, personal communication).
110. Lippolis 2006, 227. Mylonas (1961, 154) notes that “the surviving small section cannot prove that the wall belongs actually to a building,” and he dates the appearance of the western stoa – if it can be identified with Lippolis’s proposed structure – to the Late Roman period, associating it with a stoa built over the Bouleuterion (181–182; see discussion that follows).
111. Travlos 1949, 146, particularly n. 21. He based his assessment on that of Philios (1894, 193).
112. Clinton 2006, nr. 499; cf. D. Romano 1981, 2. Mylonas (1961, 185) did not propose a date for the stadium, nor did he attempt to (re)establish its location.
113. Mylonas 1961, fig. 4 no. 15. Studies of this structure include: Libertini 1916; Hörmann 1932; Mylonas 1961, 156–160; Giraud 1991, 107–114; Sauron 2001. A detailed summary of the building is given by Carpenter (1971, 125–131). Clinton (1997, 164–165) has suggested that this dedication was the response to a flood that destroyed much of Rome’s grain store during the consulship of Appius Claudius Pulcher. Cf. Miles 2012, 123–128.
114. Wilkins 1817, 1–40, esp. 22–23; W. B. Dinsmoor 1950, 286, esp. n. 4; Mylonas 1961, 157. Libertini (1916, 204), Hörmann (1932, 6, 54), Giraud (1991, 109–112), and Palinkas (2008, 187–189) argue that the Ionic columns indicated by these fragments must have been used elsewhere, noting that there is little room for them on the proposed base. Dinsmoor (1950, 286 n. 4) explicitly rejected this idea.
115. Mylonas 1961, 158.
116. Giraud 1991, 112; Sauron 2001; Palinkas (2008, 194) emphasizes the unusual capitals – which feature animal protomes at the corners – as products of Attic workshops, and suggests that they represent a conceptual connection to Athens and Roman buildings.
117. Clinton (1997, 164) has underscored the significance of the choice of Latin for this inscription, noting that it is the only such document found on the site.
118. Miles (2012, 124) remarks that “the plan, style, and decoration of Appius’s propylon reflect the eclecticism of the first century B.C.E. in both sculpture and architectural ornament.” She also notes one antecedent for decorated triglyphs in the Delian Stoa of Antigonos Gonatas (*ibid.* 145, n. 32).
119. See earlier discussion, pp. 35–36. The strong visual connection created by these Caryatids between the primary Athenian sanctuaries of Demeter at Eleusis and Athena on the Acropolis is noted by Miles (2012, 127–128). General information for the Caryatids is given by Libertini (1916, 207–210) and Hörmann (1932, 72–73), sculptural studies of these figures include Budde and Nicholls (1964, 46–49, cat. 81), Palagia (1997, 83–90), Sauron (2001, 279–283), Ridgway (2002, 5–8, 164–169), and Palinkas (2008, 175–178, 198–202).
120. For a good overview of the phasing of the Lesser Propylaea, see Palinkas (2008, 166–167,

- 178–185). Giraud (1991, 114) proposes that these doors were added to manage increased sanctuary traffic around the time of the construction of the Greater Propylaea.
121. Clinton 1989, 58–68; Clinton 1997, 174–176; Giraud 1989; Giraud 1991, 131–276, esp. 268–272 and see also 115–129 for other Hadrianic-era activity. Lippolis (2010), Miles (2012, 128), and Longfellow (2012) follow Giraud's argument, although Longfellow (2012, 140 n.31), as well as Baldassarri (2007, esp. 229–233) and Palinkas (2008, 249–261), continue to attribute the Propylaea to Marcus Aurelius' initiative. A Hadrianic phase, however, certainly corresponds well with Hadrian's famous philhellenism, including the founding of the Panhellenion (C. Jones 1996; A. Spawforth 1999); for the particular connection of the Panhellenion with Eleusis see Clinton (1999, 98–100) and Ricardi 2007. Miles (2012, 142–143) has also pointed out the influence of the Second Sophistic movement for construction both at the City Eleusinion and at Eleusis, and further argues for a Hadrianic date for the construction of a gate clearly referencing the Lesser Propylaea in the City Eleusinion. See also Clinton (1989b, 1507–1516) for a summary of Roman activity at the sanctuary between these two periods.
122. Clinton 2006, nr. 499. The attribution of this monument to Hadrian originated as early as 1897 by Frazer (1965, 3rd ed., 505–506), although, as noted earlier, several scholars maintain that it was not started until the Antonine period. Palinkas (2008, 250 n. 679) gives a helpful summary of proposed start and end dates for the Greater Propylaea. For the identification of the portrait, see Deubner (1937) and Fittschen (1989, 76). The inscription, of which only five letters are preserved, is discussed by Dinsmoor (1910, 155 n.1), and the blocks are illustrated by Giraud (1991, 195, fig. 87). Clinton (1989, 64–68) additionally comments that Hadrian's name (and perhaps his portrait) could also be restored to this pediment. Giraud (1991, 270–272) suggests that some of the imagery used in the portrait is funerary in nature, arguing that the Greater Propylaea may not have been completed until after the death of Marcus Aurelius, probably by Commodus in his honor.
123. Giraud (1991, 75) and Palinkas (2008, 260) identify this fragment as a clipeate portrait of Commodus, placed in the interior pediment and destroyed following his *damnatio memoriae*.
124. Mylonas 1961, 162–165.
125. *Ibid.* 165.
126. Longfellow 2012, 140–141; Giraud 1991, 115–129, 268; Palinkas 2008, 225–228. Willers (1996), while still emphasizing the consistency in the design of the court, argues against its interpretation as a single Hadrianic project. Giraud (1991, 127–129) compares this area to Roman fora, but also to Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, noting its apparently deliberately asymmetrical plan and emphasis on the visual experience of the space, as well as the obvious allusion to well-known architectural works, manifest in the Greater Propylaea.
127. Mylonas 1961, fig. 4 no. 43.
128. For the fountain, see Mylonas 1961, 165–166. Orlandos (1936) and Giraud (1991, 127, n. 401) after him have observed similarities in the architectural features of this building with those of the Library of Hadrian. Likewise, Hadrian's name has been tentatively restored in the dedicatory inscription (*IG II² 3196*) by Clinton (1999, 99; 2006, nr. 449). See Longfellow (2012) for the most up-to-date treatment. For other Hadrianic efforts to manage water at the sanctuary, see Mylonas 1961, 171, 183–185.
129. Mylonas 1961, 166–167; Palinkas 2008, 224–225. The dedicatory inscription (*IG II² 2958*) reads τοῖν θεοῖν καὶ τῷ Αὐτοκράτορι οἱ Πανέλληνες. See also Clinton 2006, cat. 448.
130. A. Orlandos 1921; Giraud 1991, 126; Mylonas 1961, 167–168. The identification is made from Pausanias (1.38.6), but Miles (2012, 128), based on the same passage of Pausanias, notes the possibility that this temple may rather be dedicated to Triptolemos.
131. Mylonas 1961, 168–170. Giraud (1991, 126 and fig. 52) proposes that one of the presumed altars may be the base for a cult statue. Mylonas (1961, 169) observes that the *eschara* is likely to be contemporary with the installation of the pavement in the court. Cf. Clinton 1988a, 72; Evans 2002.
132. Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 14; Travlos 1949, 143 n. 13; Mylonas 1961, 170. The identification is made based on *IG II² 1672 23–25* (Clinton 2006, cat. 177). Dolichos, who appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, can perhaps be associated with games at Eleusis (Richardson 1974, 199). Galli (2001, 62–68, esp. 64) has recently suggested that this structure can be associated with Herodes Atticus.

133. Mylonas 1961, 170–171, 173.
134. Philios 1888a, 25; Philios 1888b; Kourouniotes 1933–1935, 2–12; Mylonas 1961, 172–173. Clinton (2006, 199) questions this identification, whereas Lauter (1985, 168 n.261) associates the House of the Kerykes with the Geometric Sacred House.
135. The difficulty in dating these repairs is noted by Mylonas (1961, 161). Scheidel (1990, 493–498) discusses the issues relating to the date of the Costoboci invasion and supports a date of AD 171, in which he is followed by Kovács (2009, 198). See also Clinton (1989b, 1530 n. 160) for a summary of previous scholarship on this matter. Whatever the specific date of the destruction, it occurred during Marcus Aurelius's years. The sack of the sanctuary itself is known from Aelius Aristides (Ἐλευσίνιος), while the association of the Costoboci is inferred from Pausanias (10.34.5).
136. See Townsend (1987, 98) for the extensive nature of this repair, which is argued to be “the largest building effort of the Roman era.”
137. Mylonas 1961, 137–141, fig. 4 no. 4; Kourouniotes and Travlos 1933–1935, 91–97. The platform is attached to the south wall of the Telesterion, and Mylonas (1961, 140–141) suggested that it was used for the festival of the *Balletys* (see earlier discussion, p. 21).
138. Mylonas 1961, 175–177, 179–180. For the temple, see Philios 1882–1883, 100; Noack 1927, 85–88; Kourouniotes and Travlos 1933–1935, 72–75, 90–91. Both the date and the identification of this temple are highly conjectural, and Clinton (1989b, 1523) argues against the attribution to Sabina, proposing instead that the building is a treasury.
139. Kourouniotes and Travlos 1933–1935, 66–71; Mylonas 1961, 141–143, 161, 177–180. The identification of both of these temples is dependent on the idea that both Sabina and Faustina were referred to as the “New Demeter” (debated by Clinton 1989b, 1523, n. 118), as well as Mylonas's (1961, 179–180) argument that Temple F predates Temple L10. If these attributions are correct, these two temples form a strong dynastic statement.
140. Lippolis 2010, 39–41.
141. Mylonas 1961, 181–182.
142. *Ibid.* 183, but see Clinton 1997, 171.
143. Mylonas 1961, 185–186; for graves from the first to the third century CE see Mylonas 1975, 299.
144. Clinton 1989b, 1534–1535.
145. Mylonas 1961, 173–174; Giraud 1991, 277–290.
146. Saradi 2011, 281–285; for the Christian community at Eleusis, see Lippolis 2006, 287–300.

CHAPTER 11

1. For the identification of Demeter with Isis see Herod. *Hist.* 2.59.2 and Diod. 1.13.5. Diodoros (5.69.1) further traditions that the Egyptians themselves thought that Isis and Demeter were the same goddess, who introduced agriculture to Egypt. For the identification of Isis with Persephone see Plut. *De Iside* 27. For the idea that the Thesmophoria originated in Egypt, see Herod. *Hist.* 2.171.2–3.
2. Foucart 1914, 20–40. For the history of scholarship on the Mysteries, see the succinct but thorough discussion in Bremmer 2014, ix. For the Isis grave, see earlier discussion, p. 202.
3. Picard 1927.
4. Bernal 1987, 448; Bernal 2006, 444; for earlier identifications of the Egyptian with Greek Mysteries, see Barb 1971.
5. Griffiths 1970, 390–392; Solmsen 1979, 21; Tobin 1991, 188; Clinton 1992, 131, n. 20.
6. Lefkowitz 1996.
7. Mylonas 1961, 61; Lefkowitz 1997, 247.
8. Lefkowitz 1997, 114–121.
9. Persson 1922; Picard 1927; Picard 1948; Nilsson 1950, 468, 558 ff.
10. Κρήτηθεν (l. 123). Kerényi 1991 [1967], 24. Cf. Richardson 1974, 188–189; Adrados 1972, 184.
11. Nilsson 1950, 452.
12. Mylonas 1961, 16–19; Richardson 1974, 188; de Jong 2001, 327.
13. Nor to suppose that the reference to Crete reflects the insertion into the Hymn of a separate myth claiming a Cretan origin for the worship of Demeter, whose cult may have replaced an earlier cult to Persephone (Suter 2002, 147).
14. Wilamowitz 1931, I, 99 and 124.
15. See earlier discussions, pp. 111, 144.
16. Mylonas 1961, 19–20.
17. Paus. 1.38.2–3.
18. The Sanctuary of Demeter at Pyrasos is mentioned already in Homer (*Il.* 2.695) and her sanctuary at Pylae, near Anthelae, was the headquarters of an amphictyony dating back to the eighth century (McInerney 1999, 163–165).
19. Kerényi 1991 [1967], 25. The reference is found in the *Orphic Hymn to the Nereids*, XXIII.11.

20. See the discussion in Richardson 1974, 15.
 21. Eitrem 1940; Richardson 1974, 301.
 22. The first scholar to make the connection was Wilhelm Mannhardt (1868), whose ideas were further elaborated by Farnell (1906, 114), Harrison (1908, 267, 271–276), Zuntz (1971, 76), and Frazer (2012 [1912], 39). The spirit of Corn or Maize is identified as Mother also in Mexico and Peru (Frazer 2012 [1912], 35). See the extensive discussion of Mannhardt's ideas in Davidson 1998, 52–90; Kledt 2004, 20–22.
 23. Cornford 1914, esp. 157–158.
 24. Frazer 2012 [1912], 90.
 25. Eliade 1981, 300.
 26. Bremmer 2014, vii–viii and n. 6 with extensive references.
 27. van Gennepe 1960, 65; Bell 1997, 95.
 28. Jeanmaire 1975 [1939], 304; Bremmer 2014, viii. For the Theseia, see Bugh 1990 with further references.
 29. See the discussion in Richardson 1974, 17 and n. 3 and Bremmer 1999, 85–86 for the possibility that initiation into Mystery cults developed from puberty rites of archaic *gene*.
 30. Mylonas 1961, 14, 33, 40–42.
 31. Mylonas 1961, 43–44.
 32. *Ibid.* 42–43.
 33. See earlier discussion on p. 91.
 34. Darcque 1981, 596–598.
 35. See p. 195; analytical presentation of the arguments in Cosmopoulos 2014a and Cosmopoulos 2014b.
 36. See earlier discussion on p. 14. See also Clinton 1992, 29–30, 61.
 37. Sourvinou-Inwood 1997 and 2003.
- CHAPTER 12
1. Wright 2008, 249.
 2. See p. 162 for a detailed discussion of this topic.
 3. For the cult and its spread in Ionia, see earlier discussion on p. 14. Cf. Robertson 1996b, 377–378 and n. 158; Robertson 1998, 570; Bremmer 1999, 85.
 4. Clinton 1993, 120.
 5. De Polignac 1995, 13.
 6. See the discussion for the origins of the myth on p. 8.
 7. It is possible that the original goddess worshipped at Eleusis may have been Kore (the *thea*), as Farnell (1906) had suggested. The cult of this possibly pre-Greek goddess may have been fused with the cult of the Greek goddess Persephone, only to be displaced at some later stage by Demeter. Cf. Zuntz 1971, 75; Richardson 1974, 18; Suter 2002, 147. For the double nature of Kore–Persephone, see Zaidman 2012.
 8. Such as Corinth, although here worship is revealed by dedications of jewelry and not by pyres (Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 16–17; Bookidis 2010, 138).
 9. See the discussion of these pyres earlier in the book, pp. 138–139.
 10. Mylonas 1961, 44.
 11. See, among others, Alcock 2002, 1, 19–23; Zebuvatel 2003, 12, 47–48; Van Dyke and Alcock 2008, 5–6. Cf. Borić 2010; Laurent 2012; and Cosmopoulos 2014b, 23, nn. 132–136 with further references.
 12. See the discussion in Steinbock 2013, 10 and n. 32.
 13. Nora 1989, 7; cf. den Boer 2008, 21.
 14. Rigney 2005, 18; Erll and Rigney 2009, 3.
 15. A. Assmann 2008, 100.
 16. Winter 2008, 61.
 17. Winter 2008, 61, quoting Assmann and Czaplicka 1995.
 18. Nora 1989, 19; Erll 2011, 24.
 19. A. Assmann 2008, 100.
 20. J. Assmann 2007, 75.
 21. Jackson and Henrie 1983, 95–98.
 22. See p. 7.
 23. Hamilton and Spicer 2005, 6.
 24. Rubensohn (1955, 47–48) had suggested that the sign stood acrophonically for the noun ἀνάκτορον, but in his recent discussion of EL Z 1, Petrakis (2014) offers convincing arguments that it abbreviates the adjective *φανάκτερος (“pertaining to the *wanax*”).
 25. See earlier discussion on p. 139 for Clinton's view that the term may have meant the entire Telesterion.
 26. Cf. Dietrich 1986, 49.
 27. For example, *basileus* (Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 56).
 28. Palaima 2009, 530.
 29. As proposed by Mazarakis–Ainian 1997, 149.
 30. Zebuvatel 2003, 2–8, 13–14.
 31. For the case of Tiryns, see Maran 2011.
 32. De Polignac 1994, 9; de Polignac 1995, 28; Antonaccio 1994, 88–89, 92–93.
 33. Erll 2011, 32.
 34. See earlier discussion on p. 139.
 35. Clinton 1993, 112.

36. Clinton 1992, 29–30, 61; Sourvinou-Inwood 1997.
37. The evidence for these changes has been laid out by Sourvinou-Inwood 1983; 1997.
38. See the discussion of the evolution of the concept of the soul in Bremmer 1983, 110 and 2010b, 15–18.
39. Burkert 1985, 300.

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- * Abbreviations follow the standards of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (<http://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/abbreviations>).

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INDEX

- Acropolis, 99, 102, 117, 148, 150, 181, 183, 185, 188, 190
- Aegean, xvi, 54, 77, 104, 107, 122, 125
- Aegina, Aeginetan, xi, xii, 34, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 95, 97, 98, 103, 122, 178, 179, 181
- Aglauros, 169
- Agora, 7, 17, 18, 70, 71, 172
- Agora, Athenian, 7
- agriculture, 13, 14, 69, 157, 192
- Aigaleon, Mt., 28
- aischrologia*, 14, 19, 172
- Albania, Albanian, 34, 36, 37
- Alexander (false prophet, by Lucian), 174
- Alkibiades, 16, 173
- altars, 13, 17, 19, 75, 76, 90, 105, 126, 133, 134, 137, 138, 139, 142, 150, 181, 185, 187, 191
- Anaktoron, 16, 23, 139, 141, 144, 156, 186
- Andokides, 16, 164, 173
- Androklos, 172
- Animal husbandry, 69
- Anthele (sanctuary of Demeter), 192
- Antonaccio, C., 11, 138, 164
- Aphidna, 70
- Aphrodite, 9, 19
- Apollo Maleatas (Mt. Kynortion), 76, 93, 106, 180, 182
- Apollodoros, 10, 158, 169
- Architecture
- antae, xii, 32, 80, 82, 83, 84, 108, 115, 132, 136
 - blocks, 82
 - bothroi*, 46, 51, 54, 56, 76, 77, 116, 125, 137, 177, 183
 - drains, xii, 85, 86, 115
 - floors, xii, 32, 35, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 68, 76, 77, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 127, 128, 141, 177, 183
 - fortifications, 32, 37, 45, 46, 147
 - mudbricks, 50, 52, 75, 81, 93, 111, 128, 177
 - peribolos, xii, 11, 32, 46, 53, 54, 77, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92, 105, 106, 109, 110, 116, 125, 126, 132, 137, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 151, 158, 160, 177, 182, 183, 185, 187
- Argolid, 48, 71, 75, 77, 95, 97, 102, 103, 122, 123, 176, 183
- Argonautica* (Orphic poem), 9
- Argos, 9, 58, 74, 177, 178, 179
- Argo-Saronic Gulf, 98
- Aristotle, Aristotelian, 15, 22, 158
- ash, 38, 77, 93, 137, 138, 185
- Asine, 58, 69, 102, 176, 178, 179, 180, 181
- Asklepieion in the Asty, 18
- Asklepios, 18
- Asterios (Christian bishop), 174
- Athenodoros of Melite (first architect of the Stoa of Philo), 189
- Athens Archaeological Society, xv, 2, 31, 37, 38, 39, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 109, 111, 112, 134, 141, 145
- Athens, Athenian, vii, xv, 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16, 17, 18, 24, 27, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 45, 70, 77, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 98, 102, 103, 109, 111, 112, 113, 116, 117, 122, 134, 136, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 147, 148, 150, 156, 157, 165, 169, 171, 172, 173, 177, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190
- Ayia Irini, 54, 71, 98
- Ayios Kosmas, 181
- Ayios Stephanos, 178
- Balletys*, 9, 13, 170, 192
- Baubo, 7, 172
- Beachy Head, 36, 176
- bedrock, 30, 43, 50, 52, 53, 56, 88, 93, 114, 132, 144, 161
- Binder, J., 184, 185
- Boedromion, 17, 18, 19, 24, 173
- Boeotia, Boeotian, 7, 8, 45, 59, 62, 63, 70, 71, 72, 77, 95, 98, 103, 122, 123, 125, 170
- Brauron, 71
- Bremmer, J., xvi, 173, 174
- Brighton, 36
- Building materials
- Eleusinian stone, 68, 82, 88, 110, 122
 - marble, 35, 44, 141, 149, 150
 - mud, 36

Buildings

- Building A (East Slope), xi, 50, 51, 74, 80, 104
 House A (South Slope), 57
 House E (South Slope), 181
 House H (South Slope), 78, 81
 House I (South Slope), 80
 House Z (South Slope), 50, 51, 68, 178
 House Γ (South Slope), 50, 51
 House Δ (South Slope), 50, 57, 177, 178
 House Λ (South Slope), 80
 House P (South Slope), 177
 Unit A (Hilltop), 105, 115, 123
 Unit B (Hilltop), 115
 Burkert, W., 22, 174, 175
 Calamaia, 13, 16, 171
 Caryatid, 34, 35, 36, 174
 Chandler, Richard, 35, 36
 Chloia, 13
 Circe, 20, 174
 Clarke, E.D. (early traveller), 34, 35, 36
 Clement, 19, 169
 Clinton, K.C., 14, 15, 16, 22, 39, 139, 141, 146, 151, 159, 169, 170, 172, 174, 175, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193
 Commodus, 148, 191
 Constantas (early traveller), 35
 Corinth, 27, 35, 161, 193
 Corinthia, 71
 Corn Mother, 157
 Costobocs, 148, 150, 192
 crafts, 72, 77, 179
 Cretaceous, 28, 29, 32
 Crete, Cretan, 2, 61, 71, 78, 103, 123, 156, 157, 179, 192
 Crusades
 Fourth, 34
 Cyclades, Cycladic, xi, 45, 59, 64, 65, 66, 70, 78, 98
 da Martoni, Niccoló (early traveller), 34
 Daeirites (*priest of Daeira at Eleusis*), 7
 Daira (Okeanos' daughter), 7, 169
 Damonassa (Keleos' daughter), 170
 Darcque, P., 90, 91, 158
 de Polignac, F., 138, 164
 Delphi, 32
 Demeter, vi, vii, xv, 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 35, 90, 105, 139, 141, 148, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 163, 165, 169, 170, 171, 172, 174, 182, 185, 186, 190, 191, 192, 193
 Demophon, 8, 10, 13, 22, 171, 172
 Dickinson, O.T.P.K., 180
 Dilettanti, Society of, vii, 32, 35, 37
 Diodoros Sikelos, 155, 192
 Diogeneia (Keleos' daughter), 170

- Diokles, vi, 11
 Dipylon, 18
 Dodwell, E. (early traveller), 36, 176
 dolomites, 28
 Dörpfeld, Wilhelm, 37
 Dysaules, 7
 Egypt, 2, 17, 155, 157, 174, 192
 Elaphebolion, 13
 Elateia, 184
 Eleusinion, 17, 18, 173, 186, 187, 189, 191
 Eleusinus (mythical hero), 7, 169
 Eleusis museum, xv, xvi, 36, 38, 44, 52, 68, 69, 102, 117, 120, 122, 127, 128, 132, 148, 176
 Eleusis, mythical hero, founder of the site, 7
 Elis, 130, 177
 Ephesos, 172
 Epidauria, 18, 173
 Epidauros, 18
 epopteia, vii, 21, 24, 173
epoptes, epoptai, 15, 23, 24
 Ergot (*Claviceps purpurea*), 20
 Euboulos, 9
 Eumolpids, 7, 16, 90
 Eumolpos, vi, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 157, 169, 171
 Eutresis, 50, 177, 181
 Farnell, L.R., 193
 Faustina, 151, 192
 fertility, vii, 2, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, 29, 32, 105, 165, 169, 172
 figurines, xi, xiii, 24, 44, 45, 92, 93, 114, 120, 121, 125, 134, 156, 176, 183, 184
Figurines
phi, 120
psi, 120
tau, 120
 zoomorphic, 120
 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 36
 flint, 69, 122
 Foucart, P., 155, 174
 Frazer, J. Sir, 173, 191, 193
 Frescoes, 106
 Furumark, A., xvii
 Galatas, 77
 Gell, W., Sir (early traveller), xi, 37
 Geometric strata, ix, xiii, xvii, 37, 38, 40, 47, 89, 102, 110, 114, 127, 128, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 142, 151, 161, 164, 165, 167, 177, 181, 182, 183, 184, 192
gephyrismoi, 19
 Giraud, D., 39, 145, 148, 150
 Grandy, J.P. (architect), 37
 graves, xi, 10, 11, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 68, 74, 75, 76, 93, 94, 104, 105, 116, 119, 120, 122, 127, 128, 137, 138, 145, 151, 155, 156, 158, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 185, 192

- Graves
 ceramic containers, 56
 children, 13, 24, 56, 57, 58, 72, 74, 75, 76, 93
Complex Built Cists, xi, 52, 53, 58, 75, 76, 93, 177
 infants, 57, 77, 93, 180
 pithoi, 52, 56
 pits, 56
Simple Cists, xi, 51, 52, 58, 178
 Graves, R., 174
 Groups
 corporate, 74, 75
 élite, 74, 75, 78, 104, 105, 165

 Hades, 8, 9, 35, 170
 Hadrian, 148, 191
 Hermes, 9, 169, 172
 Herodotos, 155, 172
hiera, 16, 17, 18, 23, 139
hierokeryx, 16, 17, 18
 hieronymy, 17
hierophant, 7, 16, 17, 22, 23, 24, 170, 174
hieros gamos, 22, 174
 Hobhouse, John Cam (early traveller), 36
 Homer, 11, 19, 192
 Homeric Hymn to Demeter, vi, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 156, 158, 165, 169, 170, 171, 172, 186, 191
 Homeric Hymns, 9, 170
 Honiatis-Akominatos, M. (Archbishop of Athens), 34
 Houses
 apsidal, 49, 50, 75, 133, 136, 178, 184
 rectangular, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 78, 82, 87, 93, 114, 115, 139, 142, 144, 146, 147, 149, 150, 177

 Iakhos, 18, 19, 173
 Iklaina, 125
 Iktinos, 144, 186, 188
 Ilissos, river, 17
 Immarados (Eumolpos' son), 7, 10, 169
 initiation, 1, 14, 15, 16, 17, 21, 23, 24, 155, 156, 169, 172, 173, 193
 Ion, 10, 11
 Isis, 137, 155, 174, 192
 Isokrates, 12, 169

 Janko, R., 170
 jewelry, 68, 193
 Jurassic, 28, 32

 Kallichoron, 19, 38, 142, 147, 163, 170, 186
 Kallidike (Keleos' daughter), 170
Kalligeneia, 13
 Kalliope (Keleos' daughter), xvi, 2, 39, 46, 170
 Kallithoe (Keleos' daughter), 170
katharsis, 22
 Keleos, vi, 8, 13, 170
 Keos, Keian, 59, 64, 65, 70, 72
 Kephissos, 19, 175

 Kerameikos, 18, 130, 184
 Kerata, Mt., 28
 Keratsini, 27, 47
 Kerényi, K., 20, 157, 174
kernophoria, 19
 Kerykes, 7, 16, 137, 150, 192
 Keryx, 7, 169
 Kiapha-Thiti, 70
 Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., 180
 Kimon, 144, 187
 Kimonian construction, xii, xiii, 37, 112, 143, 144, 145, 148, 150, 187, 188
 Kiriati, E., 61
 Kirrha, 50, 177, 178
 Kithairon, Mt., 28
 Kleisidike (Keleos' daughter), 170
 Knossos, 98, 123
 Kolonna, 67, 69, 73
 Kokkou-Vyridi, K., 39, 40, 148
 Kopais, 8, 169
 Korakou, 181
 Koroibos, 144, 188
 Kos, 9
 Koukounara, 177
 Kourouniotes, K., xi, 2, 37, 38, 89, 90, 111, 114, 133, 134, 139, 147, 158, 176, 181, 186, 187, 188, 189
 Kourouniotis, K., 181
 Krisa, 181
krokos, 19
krokosis, 19
kykeon, 19, 20, 21, 22, 173, 174
 Kythera, 61, 71, 97

 Laconia, 71, 77, 97
 Lenormant, François, 37
 Lerna, 69, 176, 179, 180
 Limestone, Eleusinian, vii, 32
 Lindblom, M., 66
 Lolos, Y., 175
 Loomweights, viii, 120
 Lykourgeion, 127, 130
 Lykourgos (orator), 146, 169, 189

 magic, 172
 Makron, 187
 Mannhardt, W., 193
 Maran, J., 66, 164
 Marcus Aurelius, 148, 150, 191, 192
 Mazarakis-Ainian, A., 90, 182
 Megara, 10, 11, 27, 45, 47
megara (underground chambers at the Thesmophoria), 13, 14
 Megaron B, ix, xi, xii, 32, 38, 54, 57, 75, 80, 82, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115, 120, 126, 127, 128, 130, 132, 138, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 177, 182, 183, 184
 Melos, Melian, 59, 70
 Mesomedes (Cretan poet), 174

- Messenia, 66, 76, 77, 97, 104
 Metageitnion, 13
 Metagenes, 144, 188
 Methana, 106, 182
 Mexico, 193
 Miles, M., 190, 191
 Miletos, 172
 Miocene, 28
 Mithraion, 145
 Mithras, 151
 Mitrou, 177
 Mitsopoulou, C., 40
 Montague, John, Earl of Sandwich (early traveller), 34
 Moscow, Russian Imperial Archives, 170
 Mountjoy, P., 120, 181, 182
 Musaeus, 9, 169
 mushrooms, 174
 Mycenae, 58, 68, 74, 106, 120, 178, 182, 183
 Citadel House, 106
 Granary, 128
 Grave Circle B, 74
 Mylonas, G.E., xi, xv, 2, 10, 11, 22, 24, 37, 38, 43, 51, 53, 68, 69, 90, 92, 102, 111, 117, 120, 123, 127, 128, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141, 146, 147, 151, 158, 161, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 181, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193
mystagogs, 16, 17
mystagogs, mystagogoi, 173
 Mysteries, Greater, vii, 17, 24
 Mysteries, Lesser, 17, 174
mystes, mystai, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24

 Neolithic, xi, 32, 43, 45, 172, 176
 Nichoria, 68, 177, 178
 Nietzsche, F., 20
 Ninnion tablet, 174

 obsidian, 44, 47, 68, 75, 76, 177
 Ogygos (mythical king of Thebes), 7, 169
 olives, 32, 35
 Olivier (early traveller), 35
 Olympia, 32
opaion, 144
 opium, 20
 Orchomenos, 63, 64
 Orpheus, 9, 169
 Ovid, 20, 174

 Pammerope (Keleos' daughter), 170
 Pamphos (eight c. poet), 8, 170
 Papadimitriou, N., xvi, 72, 103, 177
 Papangeli, K., xvi, 39, 40, 46, 116, 138, 176, 184, 185
 Parker, R., 2, 23, 171, 173
 Parnes, Mt., 28, 29
 Pars, W. (painter), 35
 Pateras, Mt., 28
 Pausanias, 7, 10, 11, 138, 157, 169, 186, 191, 192
 Pefkakia, 69

 Peisistrateian wall, 54, 136, 143, 145
 Peisistratos, 11, 141, 186
 Pelagonian continent, 28
 Peloponnese, Peloponnesian, 61, 66, 71, 94, 96, 98, 103, 117, 146, 178
 pennyroyal (*mentha pulegium*), 20, 174
penteteris, 17
 Perati, 184
 Perikles, Perikleian, xiii, 37, 144, 145, 146, 188, 189
 Persephone, vii, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 35, 155, 157, 161, 165, 170, 174, 192, 193
 Persians, 144, 147, 187
 Peru, 193
 Petrakis, V., xvi, 123, 182, 193
 Petrakos, V., xv
 Philios, D., xi, 2, 37, 38, 39, 53, 54, 110, 176, 184, 187, 190
 Philippides (early traveller), 35
 Philo, Stoa, xii, 37, 38, 53, 57, 115, 116, 127, 136, 146, 150
 Phocis, 45
 Phylakopi, 98
 Phyle, 30
 pigs, 13, 18, 69, 86, 92, 105, 106, 182
 pins, 68, 69, 122
 Plasi, 178
 Pleistocene, 28
 Plouton, 13, 146, 175, 189
 Ploutonion, 37, 142, 146, 163, 187, 189
 Ploutos, 24, 171
 Plutarch, 10, 11, 18, 22, 23, 138, 155, 174, 187, 188
 Poikilon, Mt., 28
 Polyxenos, vi
pompe, 18, 19
 poppies, 20
 poppy, 20
 Poseidaon, 12
 Poseidon, 10, 136, 150, 169
 Pottery
 Acropolis Burnished Ware, 99, 102, 117, 181
 Adriatic, xi, 66
 Ayia Marina Style, 44, 45
 Cycladic White, 70
 Dark Burnished, xi, 63, 64, 66, 95
 Dark Tempered, xi, 59, 60, 70, 73, 98
 Fine Untempered, 59
 Gold Mica, xi, 59, 60, 65
 Grey Minyan, xi, xii, 61, 62, 63, 64, 70, 73, 76, 95, 97, 178
 Lustrous Decorated, xi, 60, 61, 71, 95, 178
 Mainland Polychrome, 95
 Marine style, 98
 Matt-painted, 58, 181
 mica, xi, 59, 60, 65, 178
 Minoan, 60, 61, 68, 71, 74, 98, 103, 156, 179
 Minoanizing, 61, 71, 103, 178, 179
 polychrome, 71
 Urfirnis, 43

- Pouqueville, François (early traveller), 37
Proerosia, 7, 13
 Propylaea, Lesser, 18, 107, 115, 123, 127, 128, 136, 142, 144, 145, 148, 150, 190, 191
 Prosymna, 183
 Protogeometric, xvii, 14, 128, 130, 132, 137, 159, 161, 165, 167, 172, 183, 184
 Pyanopsion, 13
 Pylos, Ano Englianos, 15, 106, 107, 125, 182
 Pyrasos (sanctuary of Demeter), 157, 192
 pyres, 37, 38, 39, 75, 134, 136, 138, 139, 142, 161, 162, 163, 164, 177, 184, 185, 186, 187, 193

 querns, 68, 122

 Redford, F. (architect), 37
 Revett, N. (architect), 35
 Rhetoï lakes, 30
 Roman, ix, xiii, 1, 7, 16, 17, 19, 37, 39, 83, 88, 107, 127, 141, 145, 147, 149, 150, 151, 167, 170, 190, 191, 192
 Roman stoa, 127
 Routsî, 178
 Ruppenstein, F., 130, 184
 Rusçillo, D., 14
 Rutter, J.B., 178

 Sabina, 151, 192
 Sacred House, xiii, 90, 127, 130, 136, 137, 142, 151, 187, 192
 Sacred Way, 18, 19, 27, 136, 146, 149, 150, 187
 Saessara (Keleos' daughter), 8, 170
 Saint Demetra, 35
 Salamis, 34, 45, 77
 Saronic Gulf, 27, 77, 98, 103, 122
 Scrofani, S. (early traveller), 35
 Shear, T.G., 186, 188
 Skias, A., xi, 2, 37, 38, 39, 56, 75, 122, 137, 177, 180
Skira, 10, 171
 Skiros (seer), 10
 Spindle whorls, 68, 117, 119, 120, 178
 Spon, Jacques (early traveller), 34
spondophoroi, 17
 Stadium, 38, 142, 176
 Stoa of Philo, xii, 37, 38, 53, 57, 115, 116, 127, 134, 146, 150
 Stobaeus, 22, 174
 Strabo, 10, 18, 144, 169, 188
 Sutter, A., 170
 Synoecism, Athenian, vii, 10, 11, 171
 Syria, 17

 Telemachos monument, 173
 Telesterion, xii, xiii, 13, 14, 15, 19, 21, 23, 32, 37, 38, 39, 51, 80, 81, 83, 91, 107, 110, 114, 127, 132, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 150, 151, 156, 163, 172, 184, 186, 187, 188, 189, 192, 193
 Peisistrateian, xii, 80, 81, 91, 107, 114, 127, 140
 Roman, 83
 Thamyris (Thracian singer), 169
 Thebes, vii, 7, 11, 74, 103, 125, 138, 169, 180, 185
 Themis, 13
 Thera, Theran, 59, 70, 102
 Theseia, 158, 193
 Thesmophoria, 13, 14, 16, 155, 158, 159, 161, 165, 171, 172, 192
 Thessaly, Thessalian, 69, 157
 Thorikos, 54, 70, 103, 182
 Threpsiades, I., 92
 Threpsiades, Ioannis, 92, 182, 183
 Thriassion plain, 28, 29, 30, 32, 44
 Timotheus (Eleusinian priest), 174
 Tiryns, 102, 164, 181, 193
 Tiverios, M., 40
 Tivoli, 191
 Touchais, G., 66
 Travlos, I., xi, xiii, 2, 31, 32, 38, 81, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90, 109, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 141, 145, 147, 150, 184, 186, 189
 Triassic, 28
 Triptolemos, vi, 7, 13, 171, 191
 Trophonios, 174
 Turks, Turkish, 35

 Varro, 169
 Visigoths, 151
 Vitruvius, 144, 188, 189

 West Cemetery, xi, 11, 38, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66, 67, 68, 71, 74, 75, 76, 93, 94, 102, 104, 116, 117, 119, 120, 122, 128, 131, 138, 145, 151, 177, 179, 180, 185, 189
 Wheler, G. (early traveller), 34, 35, 175
 wood, 76, 82, 111
 Wright, J.C., xvi, 72, 75, 77, 104, 180

 Xenokles, 144, 188

 Zerner, C., 178
 Zeus, 8, 9, 13, 32, 170
 Zygouries, 183

